

THE ORIGIN, DEVELOPMENT AND SIGNIFICANCE OF THE CONCEPT
OF THE REMNANT IN THE OLD TESTAMENT

by

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CONTENTS

		Page
INTRODUCTION		i
 Chapter		
I.	A Study of the Roots $\text{רש}, \text{פל}, \text{רס}$ and רש in Relation to the Concept of the Remnant	1
II.	The Origin of the Concept of the Remnant	15
III.	The Development of the Concept of the Remnant up to the Prophecy of Isaiah	45
IV.	The Development of the Concept of the Remnant from Isaiah to Jeremiah. .	77
V.	The Development of the Concept of the Remnant in Ezekiel.	119
VI.	The Development of the Concept of the Remnant in Exilic and Post-Exilic Judaism	132
VII.	The Significance of the Concept of the Remnant	142
BIBLIOGRAPHY		148

THE ORIGIN, DEVELOPMENT, AND SIGNIFICANCE OF
THE CONCEPT OF THE REMNANT IN THE OLD TESTAMENT

The purpose of this thesis is to investigate the place of the Remnant in the development of the Hebrew Religion, with regard to both the secular and theological uses of the concept. In some recent theological books much attention has been paid to the significance of the Remnant for Christian theology. Professor H. H. Rowley has stressed the close relationship between the Remnant concept and the doctrine of Election.¹ Professor T. W. Manson finds a development of the prophetic doctrine of the Remnant through the concept of the Suffering Servant in Second Isaiah and of the Son of Man in Daniel to the sufferings and mission of Jesus Christ who, in Himself, embodies the Remnant. He writes,

Whether we begin with the religion of the Old Testament and work our way forward through prophecy and apocalyptic, or whether we start from the fact of the Early Church and try to trace it to its beginnings, the idea of the faithful Remnant is the Ariadne thread that leads us to the centre of the labyrinth. There we find the Crucified, who took upon himself the form of a servant, and became obedient unto death;²

¹ H. H. Rowley, The Biblical Doctrine of Election (London, 1950), pp. 70ff., 143 ff.

² T. W. Manson, The Teaching of Jesus (Cambridge, 1931), p. 236.

Recently Eric Heaton has protested against the use of the phrase "prophetic doctrine of the Remnant."¹ In his study of the root רָחַם , he finds no certain indication that the prophets themselves used the term remnant for any hope in the future. In speaking of the remnant of Israel, they were pointing instead to the greatness of the disaster which was to overtake their nation. It is only in the secondary strata of the prophetic books that we find the term used with a positive, forward-looking significance. While his work has added to our knowledge of the variety of uses of the biblical root רָחַם , he has failed to penetrate to the inner meaning of the concept of the Remnant, and to work out its relationship to the doom-salvation motif, and to the concept of the People of God. While the identification of the various strata of the biblical writings is a necessary task, Heaton's wholesale assignment of passages to a late day by-passes the question of the origin of the concept in the prophetic circles. Each passage should be examined in the light of the relationship of the concept to the whole of the prophet's teaching, and should not be made to fit a pre-conceived notion that the prophets could not have held a positive view of the Remnant.

There are four roots used for the Remnant in the

¹ Eric Heaton, "The Root רָחַם and the Doctrine of the Remnant", J.T.S. N.S. III (April, 1952), pp. 27-39.

Old Testament, $\gamma\sigma\tau'$ $\zeta\eta\sigma$ $\gamma\gamma\psi$ and $\gamma\chi\psi$. The concept will be studied principally in relation to these four roots. Reference will also be made to places where the idea of the Remnant, although not found in these roots, is implicit; as, for instance, in the story of the Call of Abraham.

Chapter I

A STUDY OF THE ROOTS שרר, פלג, יתר AND שאר IN RELATION TO THE CONCEPT OF THE REMNANT

A. The root שרר occurs only twenty-nine times in the Old Testament. It is used mainly of the survival of persons from warfare or catastrophe. There is a pattern of expression in the historical accounts of the conquest of the land of Palestine which uses שרר

¹ More simply this occurs as שרר ² לא השאר שרר. The substantive שרר is often used parallel to פלג in the sense of survivor.³ Other places it is used by itself with the same meaning.

לולי יקהל שבאות הורגו שרר פלג

¹Nu. 21:35, Dt. 3:3, 2 Ki. 10:11, Josh. 8:22, 10:33, 11:8, (emend שרר cf, B.H.).

²Josh. 10:28, 30, 37, 39, 40, Dt. 2:34.

³Josh. 8:22, Jer. 42:17, 44:14, La. 2:22, Joel 3:5 (E.T. 2:32).

jamin,¹ of Judah and Jerusalem,² of the nations,³ of the Moabites,⁴ from Babylon,⁵ and from the sword.⁶ It also refers to vegetation which has escaped destruction.⁷ The emphasis in this root is on the escaped remnant. It refers thus to those who escaped from the Assyrian invasion,⁸ those who escaped being exiled,⁹ and those who escaped after Yahweh's future judgment.

בְּיִזְם הַהוּא יִהְיֶה צֶמַח יְהוֹנָה לְצַבִּי וְלִכְבוֹד
 10. וְכִפְרֵי הָאָרֶץ לְגֵאֲךָ וְלִתְפִּאֲרֹת לְפָלִיטָה יִשְׂרָאֵל:

These survivors of the final judgment will be established in Mount Zion and in Jerusalem.

That this escaped remnant is of great significance for the family, tribe, and nation may be illustrated by the following. Jacob divided his company into two groups so that if Esau destroyed one company, the other would be

לְפָלִיטָה.¹¹ Joseph claimed that he was protected by God

¹Ju. 21:17.

²Ob. 14; Ez. 6:9, 7:16, 24:26, 27, 33:21, 2 Ki. 19:30, 31; Isa. 37:31, 32.

³Isa. 45:20 ⁴Nu. 21:29 ⁵Jer. 50:28

⁶Jer. 44:28, 51:50; Ez. 6:8. ⁷Ex. 10:5; Joel 2:3.

⁸2 Ki. 19:30 f. = Isa. 37:31, 32; 2 Chr. 30:6.

⁹Neh. 1:2.

¹⁰Isa. 4:2; Cf. also Ob. 17; Joel 3:5 (E.T. 2:32).

¹¹Gen. 32:9 (E.T. 8).

to keep alive survivors for a great deliverance.¹

וְשִׁלַּחְנִי אֱלֹהִים לְפָנֶיכֶם לְשׁוּם לָכֶם שְׂאֵרֵי
בְּעָרְיָם וְלִקְהַל יְהוָה לָכֶם לְפָנֶיכֶם גְּדוּלָּה

Those left of the decimated tribe of Benjamin were to be

provided with wives on the principle that a tribe could not
be blotted out from Israel.

וְיִשְׁלַח יְהוָה שְׂאֵרֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל
לְבָנֵיכֶם לְלֹא יִבְחָה שְׂאֵרֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל

Yahweh is to send survivors of the day of judgment to the

far away coastlands, to declare his glory among the nations.³

C. The root שׁל with its derivatives occurs one
hundred and three times in the Old Testament. Père de Vaux
claims that this root bears a shade of meaning which makes
it unsuitable for the concept of the Remnant of Israel;
namely, the idea of that which is surplus or in excess.

Car le mot comporte une nuance qui s'accorde mal à
cet usage: il dit plutôt ce qui est en surplus,
ce qui excède. C'est-à-dire qu'il tire l'atten-
tion non pas vers le reste qui subsiste, mais vers
l'ensemble auquel ce reste était adjoint. Ce sens
d'"excès" est fondamental dans la racine שׁל .⁴

According to Père de Vaux, the prophets preferred
the root שׁל for the remnant, because it drew attention
toward the significance of the part which survived. Eric
Heaton reverses this judgment, claiming that the use of
 שׁל stresses the importance of the part left over or

¹Gen. 45:7. ²Ju. 21:17. ³Isa. 66:19.

⁴Père de Vaux, "Le 'Reste d'Israël' d'après les
Prophètes", RB 42nd year (1933), p. 528, note 1.

surviving.

The main difference between them appears to be not, as de Vaux suggests, that $\gamma\sigma\tau$ diverts attention more than $\gamma\chi\psi$ from the part to the whole, but rather that $\gamma\sigma\tau$ does not direct our attention as consistently as $\gamma\chi\psi$ backwards to an antecedent loss. When $\gamma\sigma\tau$ is used, that which is left over (the 'excess') is often too substantial to be called a 'residue' and sufficiently important to merit attention.¹

He notes, however, the number of passages where the two roots are used interchangeably,² and acknowledges the difficulty of coming to any precise distinction between them. The difficulty of reaching any generalisation about the root $\gamma\sigma\tau$ may be seen in an analysis of its use in the Old Testament.

$\gamma\sigma\tau$ can mean the major part of the whole,³ one half of the whole,⁴ or a small part in proportion to the whole.⁵ To the last group may be added places where the remainder signifies things or persons inferior in number or quality, such as food left by the poor,⁶ vegetation left by locusts,⁷ or the remnant of the Rephaim,⁸ the remnant of the

¹Heaton, "The Root $\gamma\chi\psi$ - - -" J.T.S. N.S. III (1952), p. 29, note 1.

²Ex. 10:5; Josh. 23:12; 1 Sam. 25:34; 1 Ki. 22:47; Isa. 4:3; Jer. 34:7, 44:7, 19.

³Lev. 14:18; Ju. 7:6; 1 Sam. 13:2, 15:15; 2 Sam. 10:10 = 1 Chr. 19:11; 2 Chr. 13:10.

⁴Ex. 28:10; Isa. 44:19; Zech. 14:2.

⁵Ju. 8:10, 9:5; 2 Sam. 8:4 = 1 Chr. 18:4; 1 Ki. 20:30; Isa. 1:9; Jer. 34:7; Ezek. 48:15, 18.

⁶Ex. 23:11. ⁷Joel 1:4. ⁸Deut. 3:11 = Josh. 12:4.

nations left among the Israelites in Palestine,¹ the Gibeonites as a remnant of the Amorites.²

On the other hand, שׁוֹרֵף is used in the Hiphil with the meaning "to show excess" or "to have more than enough";³ and the noun שׁוֹרֵף means "what is over and above immediate necessities," i.e. an abundance,⁴ a pre-eminence in strength and power.⁵ שׁוֹרֵף is used in adverbial phrases with the meaning "exceedingly" or "abundantly."⁶ It is also used of a simple surplus or excess.⁷

It is used without emphasis to designate the rest, or remainder, that is the second of two parts.⁸ A very frequent use of שׁוֹרֵף is in the phrase $\text{וְהַשְׁאֵרִית שׁוֹרֵף}$ "the rest of the affairs of" with reference to the chronicles of the kings of Judah and Israel.⁹

It is used for the common people in opposition to the rulers,¹⁰ for individuals left alone, such as Elijah,¹¹

¹Josh. 23:12; 1 Ki. 9:21; = 2 Chr. 8:8.

²2 Sam. 21:2.

³Ex. 36:7; Deut. 28:11, 30:9; 1 Ki. 4:43; 2 Chr. 31:10.

⁴Job 22:20. ⁵Gen. 49:3. ⁶Dan. 8:9; Isa. 56:12.

⁷Nu. 31:32.

⁸Gen. 30:36; Josh. 17:2; 1 Chr. 6:46; Ezek. 34:18.

⁹1 Ki. 11:41 and 41 times in Kings, Chronicles.

¹⁰Neb. 2:16, 4:8 (E.T. 14), 13(E.T. 19).

¹¹1 Ki. 18:22, 19:10, 14.

Jacob,¹ and Benjamin,² for the remnant of Israel left after disaster and defeat.³

Typical of the uses of נשׁר which point to a theological significance of the part left over, are the following: Elijah left as the only witness to God, $\text{אֲנִי נֹתָרְתִּי נִבִּיאַ$
 לַיהוָה לְבַדִּי ⁴ survivors of the inhabitants of Palestine left in the land as potential sources of trouble for Israel,
 $\text{וְהָיָה אֲשֶׁר תִּזְכְּרוּ לַיהוָה לְשָׂכָרָם בְּעֵינֵיכֶם}$ ⁵ a group left to see the fulfilment of God's word of threat against Israel for her sin,⁶ survivors left as the means of continuance of the existence of a dynasty,⁷ of a people.⁸ The holy remnant, left in Jerusalem after the final judgment,
 $\text{וְהָיָה הַנִּשְׁאָר בְּצִיּוֹן וְהַנִּחְנוּתָר בִּירוּשָׁלַם קְדוֹשׁ יֵאָמַר לִי}$ ⁹ is to rule the surrounding nations.¹⁰ Survivors of the nations are to worship in Jerusalem.¹¹

This variety of usage of the root נשׁר prevents us from making any clear-cut distinction between its significance and that of the root נשׁא . While there is some

¹Gen. 32:25. ²Gen. 44:20, 38.

³Mt. 5:3 (E.T. 2), Zeph. 2:9; Zech. 14:2, 2 Ki. 25:11 = Jer. 39:9.

⁴1 Ki. 18:22. ⁵Nu. 33:55. ⁶Ex. 6:8ff., 12:16.

⁷2 Sam. 13:30; Ju. 9:5.

⁸Isa. 1:9; Jer. 44:7.

⁹Isa. 4:3. ¹⁰Zeph. 2:9. ¹¹Zech. 14:16.

evidence for 757¹ having at times the meaning of "excess," this is by no means always the case. This root has a forward-looking aspect, not because it bears a shade of meaning of "excess," but because it signifies that a part of the whole remains, and as long as it remains it bears in itself the potentiality and hope of renewal of that whole which has been destroyed.

D. The root 78W² with its derivatives occurs two hundred and twenty times. Eric Heaton, in his study of this root, concludes that 78W³ emphasizes the destruction which has taken place rather than the significance of the residue which has come out of that destruction.

78W⁴ primarily directs attention, not forwards to the residue, but backwards to the whole of which it had been a part and to the devastation and loss by which it had been brought into being.¹

Heaton refers to the uses of 78W² in cognate languages such as those cited by G. A. Cooke,² and A. Cowley,³ which, he claims, illustrate the basic meaning of 78W⁴ as remaining, or being left over, from a larger number or quantity which has in some way been disposed of.⁴ This

¹Heaton, "The Root 78W - - -," J.T.S. N.S. III (1952), p. 29.

²G. A. Cooke, North Semitic Inscriptions, (Oxford, 1903), 73.5, 94.3.

³A. Cowley, Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C. (Oxford, 1923), 81.61-3, 77, 106, 118, 131, 132.

⁴The Nabataean inscription in Cooke, Inscriptions, 94.3 uses 57¹78W² simply for the rest, or the second of two classes, without any reference to disposal.

basic meaning, however, does not determine what emphasis is to be placed upon the part which remains. It is a mistake to say that חֲשׁוּ is primarily backwards-looking. While there are some references which emphasize only the destruction, there are many which have a bi-polarity of outlook; they refer backward to the devastation but at the same time also forward to the renewal.

At times the negative particle is used with the root חֲשׁוּ to express the idea of the totality of the destruction.¹ This idea of totality is also gained by referring to the removal or destruction of the residual part.² Those of the Ammonites, who survived the attack of Saul's army, were scattered like straw in the wind until no two of them were left together.³ The survivors of Pharaoh's army are to be scattered to every wind.⁴ The meaninglessness of the remnant is portrayed in the picture of the fruit left over as gleanings,⁵ and in the description of the remains of a sheep taken from the mouth of a lion.⁶ The survivors of the Israelite conquest of Palestine are to be destroyed by despondency.⁷ So great will be the disaster that will overtake

¹Ex. 10:19, 26; 14:28; Nu. 9:12.

²Lev. 26:36; Zeph. 1:4. ³1 Sam. 11:11.

⁴Ezek. 17:21. ⁵Isa. 17:6; Jer. 6:9. ⁶Amos 3:12.

⁷Deut. 7:20. For the translation of חֲשׁוּ by "despondency" rather than by "hornets", cf. L. Köhler, Kleine Lichter (Zurich, 1945), p. 19f.

Judah that the remnant surviving will prefer death to life.¹
 So few trees will be left to Assyria that a child could number them.²

Is also used to describe simply what is left over and above that which has found some specific use.³
 Thus it comes to have the weakened sense of the 'rest' -- the second of two classes.⁴

Besides the negative use of *ṣḥ*, and its neutral sense of the 'rest', there is also the forward-looking aspect, pointing towards the possibilities of danger, or of hope of restoration, which are inherent in the existence of a remnant. The danger of a revival of a military attack upon the Israelites, and of the corruption of Yahwism by the survivors of the defeated Canaanites is at the basis of the total annihilation strategy in warfare.⁵ That this danger was a real one we may judge from the accounts of the Amalekite remnant and the Anakim.⁶ Jeremiah puts this case

¹Jer. 8:3. ²Isa. 10:19.

³Ex. 8:27 (E.T. 31), 10:19; Nu. 9:12; 1 Sam. 16:11; 2 Ki. 24:14; Jer. 49:9 = Ob. 5.

⁴Deut. 19:20; 1 Chr. 11:8, 12:39 (E.T. 38), 16:41; 2 Chr. 9:29, 24:14; Ezra 3:8, 4:3, 7; Neh. 7:7, 10:29, 11:1, 20; Esther 9:12, 16; Isa. 21:17.

⁵Nu. 21:35 = Deut. 3:3; Deut. 2:34, 20:18, Josh. 8:22, 10:28, 30, 37, 39, 40, 11:8, 23:7, 12; 1 Sam. 14:36; 2 Ki. 10:11.

⁶1 Sam. 30:17 with 1 Chr. 4:43, and Josh. 11:21f. with 1 Sam. 17:4ff

theoretically by saying that if only wounded men were left of the Chaldaean Army fighting against Jerusalem, even those wounded men would rise up to burn the city with fire.¹

Ezekiel allows for the possibility of Egypt being made a desolation, with her people scattered among the nations, and after forty years being able to regain political independence.²

This positive, forward-looking aspect of the Remnant is also found in the use of *ḥw* as the bearer of the life and existence of a people, a tribe, or a family. To understand the importance of a remnant as the bearer of future hopes, it is necessary to observe the psychic unity of a group or family in the Semitic consciousness.³ This feeling of solidarity within their own community extends not only to units of their own day, but also embraces their descendants. To be left without descendants was the greatest of tragedies for the Semite. Thus we have the case of the widow requesting David's help on behalf of her son who killed his brother and was to be put to death. She says that if the family insists on the lex talionis they would "quench my coal which is

¹Jer. 37:10. ²Ex. 29:12ff.

³cf. Johs. Pedersen, Israel (Copenhagen, 1926) I-II, pp. 46ff. "The absolute annihilation consists in being driven out of one's community, in being cut off from one's 'am." It only happens with the person who has broken the fundamental laws of life, and thus himself has severed the string that binds him to life. The one who lives normally lives among his kinsmen and through death passes into the large community of kinsmen who have gone before him." (p. 55). Pedersen claims that an 'am is a community which forms wholes. It may be the father's house, the city, the empire or the people.

left and leave to my husband neither name nor remnant upon the face of the earth."¹

לְבַלְלָתִי שִׁי ׀ לְאִשִּׁי ׀ וְשָׂאֲרִידָי עַל פְּנֵי הָאָרֶץ

To obtain posterity for a childless, deceased man, and thus prevent his name from being blotted out and his family from perishing, is the purpose of the Levirate marriage.² The use of שָׂאֲרִידָי for descendant is also evident in the Joseph story where Joseph explains to his brothers that he was preserved to keep a remnant alive for them.³ Jacob would go down to Sheol in sorrow if Benjamin, who he thought was left alone of his sons by Rachel, should die.⁴ The danger of the restoration of a dynasty to power is ever present if there be left but a single survivor.⁵ The same

L. Rost in "Die Bezeichnungen für Land und Volk im Alten Testament" Festschrift Otto Procksch (Leipzig, 1934), finds three aspects of the 'am in the military, legal, and cultic activities of the community.

"'am ist demnach die Zusammenfassung der Männer zu gemeinsamen Beraten und Handeln, der Männerbund, der verantwortlich ist für den Bestand des Staates im Krieg und Frieden durch Pflege der Wehrhaftigkeit, des Rechts und des Kultes." p. 146.

cf. also Werner E. Müller, Die Vorstellung vom Rest im Alten Testament (Leipzig, 1939), p. 27, Note 4, where he says that whenever the remnant of a קָיָה, קָיָה or קָיָה is mentioned, the basic idea behind such groups is that of the נִשְׁאָר.

¹2 Sam. 14:7.

²Deut. 25:5, 7-10; Ruth 4:10 cf. Pedersen Israel I-II, pp. 77ff., and also p. 255, "The extermination of the name is the strongest expression of annihilation."

³Gen. 45:7. ⁴Gen. 42:38.

⁵Deut. 3:11; Josh. 13:12; 1 Ki. 15:29, 16:11; 2 Ki. 10:11 (E.T. 17); 2 Chr. 21:17.

is true of a family.¹ The hope of survival after the flood is preserved through Noah and his family as the sole survivors of the old world.² Jacob divided his camp so that, if one part were destroyed by Esau, the other would be left for the preservation of the life of the group.³ Having no remnant meant no posterity for Babylon,⁴ for Israel.⁵

In our examination of the development of the concept of the remnant in the prophetic period, we shall be able to observe the numerous occurrences of רִשְׁטָה with a theological connotation. For the present a few examples will suffice. God will spare a remnant that is pious,⁶ humble,⁷ faithful,⁸ purified,⁹ the recipient of God's power and salvation.¹⁰

Upon the results of this study of the four roots, we may conclude that the concept of the remnant as the bearer of the existence of a family, tribe, or nation is well founded in common usage. It was well fitted to become the vehicle of Hebrew thought concerning the continuance of life

¹1 Sam. 25:22; Ruth 1:5.

²Gen. 7:23. ³Gen. 32:9. ⁴Jer. 44:7.

⁵1 Ki. 19:18.

⁶1 Ki. 19:18. ⁷Zeph. 3:12.

⁸2 Ki. 19:31 = Isa. 37:32.

⁹Isa. 4:3, 10:20, 21, 22, 11:11, 16, 28:5; Zeph. 3:13.

¹⁰2 Ki. 19:4 = Isa. 37:4; Mi. 2:12, 5:6, 7, 7:18; Isa. 46:3; Jer. 23:3, 31:7, 50:20; Zeph. 2:7, 9; Zech. 8:11.

and the security of the future.¹ It is true, as pointed out above, that there are numerous instances where the remnant is used merely to emphasize the totality of destruction. The very fact, however, that the word is used in this negative way points to the importance of the concept of the remnant itself. The life of the community is maintained even though it be reduced to a very small remnant.

Several times in their history the People of Israel faced the possibility of a complete end of their existence as a people. At such times the implications of the existence of a remnant were of greatest importance. It is the purpose of the writer of this thesis to trace the concept of the Remnant through the various vicissitudes of the history of Israel, and to show how it changes and develops.

¹Müller Rest, p. 37f. "Mit dem Vorhandensein eines Restes ist das höchste Gut, das Leben, in seinem Fortbestand gesichert. Einen Namen, Gedächtnis oder Samen oder einen Rest besitzen, bedeutet Leben haben. Angesichts einer konkreten Bedrohung dieses Lebens besteht im Falle des Unterliegens zuletzt nur noch die Hoffnung, dass einige, "einzelne" entkommen und einen Rest bilden könnten, um so den Fortbestand der betreffenden Gemeinschaft für die Zukunft zu sichern."

Chapter II

THE ORIGIN OF THE CONCEPT OF THE REMNANT

From our study of the use of the term "remnant" in the Old Testament, we have been able to note its wide use in the secular life of the community. Any consideration of the theological significance of this concept should take into account the close relationship between secular and religious uses. In a nation like Israel the two were bound to be closely intertwined, as Herntrich has noted;

Bedenken wir von hier aus, dass der Gedanke des Restes im Verlauf der Geschichte des Gottesvolkes je und dann angewandt wurde auf den die grossen Gerichtskatastrophen überdauernden Bestand des Volkes, dann ergibt sich, dass auch hier die Grenze zwischen dem profanen und dem theologischen Gebrauch des Restgedankens fließend sein muss.¹

Therefore we cannot determine the origin of the theological concept of the "Remnant" without examining the possible sources of the secular concept of the remnant. We shall place the Israelite use of the term over against its use in the surrounding civilizations with which Israel

¹V. Herntrich, "Der 'Rest' im Alten Testament," Th.W.N.T. (Stuttgart, 1942) IV, 202, 26.

shared many common modes of thought. Also, since it is becoming increasingly apparent that the cult played an important part in the life of the People of Israel, we must examine the claim that this concept sprang from their ritual. This claim can only be rightly understood if we relate this ritual to the distinctive characteristic of the Hebrew religion, namely, their belief in the fact that God chose them, and through that choice is working out His eternal purpose.

A. THE CONCEPT OF THE REMNANT IN ASSYRIAN, EGYPTIAN, HITTITE AND UGARITIC RECORDS

1. The Remnant in Assyrian Records.

The most frequent occurrence of the remnant concept outside the Old Testament is in Assyrian records of military campaigns. As early as Tiglath-Pilezer I (ca., 1100 B.C.), the narratives of military campaigns depict a ruthless extermination of the foe. On the prism inscription found at the temple of Anu and Adad at Assur, Tiglath-Pilezer I tells of his conquering the land of Kutmuhi:

I burned their cities with fire, I devastated, I destroyed (them). The rest of the people of the land of Kutmuhi, who had fled before my weapons, crossed over to the city of Shereshe, which is on the further bank of the Tigris, and they made that city their stronghold. - - - I crossed the Tigris and conquered the city of Shereshe, their stronghold. I scattered their warriors in the midst of the hills like -----, and made their blood to flow in the Tigris and on the high places of the moun-

tains.¹

The large pavement slabs of the temple of Ninurta in Calah bear a vivid account of the grim warfare waged by Ashurnasirpal II (883-859):

While I stayed in Aribua, I conquered the (other) towns of Luhuti, defeating their inhabitants in many bloody battles. I destroyed (them), tore down (the walls) and burned (the towns) with fire; I caught the survivors and impaled (them) on stakes in front of their towns.²

Similar to this is the account of the capture of Pitura, the stronghold of the men of the land of Dirra:

I took the city, and 800 of their fighting men I put to the sword, and cut off their heads. Multitudes I captured alive, and the rest of them I burned with fire, and carried off their heavy spoil. I formed a pillar of the living and of heads over against his city gate and 700 men I impaled on stakes over against their city gate. The city I destroyed, I devastated, and I turned it into a mound and ruin heap. Their young men and their maidens I burned in the fire.³

What was not felled by the sword succumbed to the Euphrates.⁴

Sometimes the only purpose in taking hostages was to mete out to them especially brutal treatment:

With the masses of my troops and by my furious battle onset I stormed, I captured the city; 600

¹D. D. Luckenbill, Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia (Chicago, 1926) I, No. 222.

²James B. Pritchard (ed.), Ancient Near Eastern Texts (Princeton 1950), p. 276.

³Luckenbill, Ancient Records I, No. 463 (=499)

⁴Ibid., No. 473.

of their warriors I put to the sword; 3000 captives I burned with fire; I did not leave a single one among them alive to serve as a hostage. Hulai, their governor, I captured alive. Their corpses I formed into pillars; their young men and maidens I burned in the fire. Hulai, their governor, I flayed, his skin I spread upon the wall of the city of Damdamusa.¹

Complete destruction of the enemy was at times accompanied by complete destruction of vegetation, as in the following account by Tiglath-Pilezer III (745-727 B.C.):

The mulberry (?) groves which were (planted) along his (city) walls, I cut down; not one was left (lit., escaped). The date-palms within the confines of his land I destroyed. His ----- I cut off (?) and filled the fields (with them, or, it). All of his cities I destroyed, I devastated, I burned with fire. Bit-Shilani, Bit-Amukkani and Bit-Sha'alli, I destroyed in their entirety (so that they were) like mounds (left by) the flood, - to mounds and ruins I turned them.²

Along with this brutality the Assyrian kings could also show mercy,³ although this is probably a rationalisation of the fact that they were not strong enough to annihilate all their enemies. The campaign against Arpad ended in a treaty.⁴ There is frequent mention of deportation as a method of military strategy.⁵

These annals of Assyrian warfare show that they re-

¹Ibid., No. 445.

²Ibid., No. 792.

³Ibid., Nos. 223, 233, 236, 237, 405, 461, 474.

⁴Ibid., No. 750 ff.

⁵Ibid., Nos. 164 (=171), 388, 448, 788 ff.

garded as dangerous any group or segment left from a defeated foe. Deportation served to cut off any remnant from its home, diminishing its potentiality as a trouble-maker. A remnant left in its land, however, was regarded as the source of future retaliation and every attempt was made to search it out and to destroy it.

2. The Remnant in Egyptian Records.

References to the concept of the Remnant are scanty in Egyptian tablets. From the time of Seti I (ca; 1318-1301 B.C.) in an inscription from Karnak, we have a song in honour of the Pharaoh, boasting of his deeds of valour in repulsing the Bedouin:

Sein Herz wird befriedigt, wenn es Blut sieht. Er schlägt die Häupter der Empörer ab. Er liebt einen Augenblick des Kampfes mehr als einen Tag des Jauchzens. Seine Majestät erschlägt sie (alle) zugleich. Er lässt kein - - - unter ihnen (übrig), und wer seiner Hand als Gefangener entrinnt, wird nach Agypten fortgeführt.¹

Also from Karnak comes a description of the victorious return of Seti I to Egypt from his campaign against the Hittites;

[Presentation of] tribute by the good god to his father Amon-Re ----- (at) his return from the country of the Hatti, having annihilated the rebellious countries and crushed the Asiatics in their places -----

The great princes of the wretched Retenu, whom his majesty carried off by his victories from the country of the Hatti, to fill the work-house of his father Amon-Re.²

¹H. Gressmann (ed.), AOT (2nd. ed.; Berlin, 1926), p. 94.

²Pritchard, Ancient Texts, p. 255.

The victorious king is content to make slaves of the remnant of the country.

Of great interest is the Hymn of Victory of Mer-ne-Ptah (ca. 1230 B.C.), because here we meet the only instance of the name "Israel" in ancient Egyptian records.

The princes are prostrate, saying: "Mercy!"
 Not one raises his head among the Nine Bows.
 Desolation is for Tehenu; Hatti is pacified;
 Plundered is the Canaan with every evil;
 Carried off is Ashkelon; seized upon is Gezer;
 Yanoam is made as that which does not exist;
 Israel is laid waste, his seed is not;
 Hurru is become a widow for Egypt!
 All lands together, they are pacified;
 Everyone who was restless, he has been bound
 By the King of Upper and Lower Egypt.¹

The boast that the seed or offering of Israel had been wiped out, is, of course, a conventional exaggeration of the defeat inflicted on the enemy. In the few places in the Egyptian records where the annihilation of the enemy is mentioned, we fail to find that stamp of historical authenticity which marks many of the Assyrian accounts. War for the Egyptians was not the ruthless pursuit which it was for the Assyrians. For the Egyptians the outcome did not seem as important and final.

Two records refer to a remnant of Egypt. The first is the prophecy of Nefer-Rohu found in the Papyrus Leningrad

¹Ibid., p. 378. In contrast to the other names, Israel is written with the determinative of people rather than land. Therefore we would seem to have Israelites in or near Palestine, but not settled. Wilson in ibid., p. 378, note 18, cautions us against laying too much weight on this fact, since the Late Egyptian scribes were notoriously careless.

1116 B, published by W. Golénischeff:

The land is completely perished, (so that) no remainder exists, (so that) not even the black of the nail survives from what was fated. This land is (so) damaged that there is no one who is concerned with it, no one who speaks, no eye that weeps.¹

Dürr has pointed out that the main concern in this prophecy is not with the whole land, but with the prophet's own city of Heliopolis, and with the building of a wall in the eastern delta to keep out the roaming Bedouin.² It is not prophecy in the Old Testament sense, but is written "post-eventum" as a tribute to the king through whom came the deliverance from the situation described in the prophecy. Therefore we cannot claim that we find here the agonising concern for the preservation of an Egypt as a counterpart of the prophetic concern for Israel.

The other reference to a remnant of Egypt is in the "Topferorakel" of a King Amenopsis:

Es wird aber von Syrien her besetzen der verhasste König 17) . . . 18) . . . er selbst von den Unheiligen nach Ägypten . . . 19) . . . wird später verüdet werden . . . 22) . . . nur wenige (?) von Ägyptens Bewohnern werden übrig bleiben.³

We meet here the concept of only a very few remaining from the catastrophe which is about to overtake Egypt. It is probably another "post-eventum" oracle, but even so these two

¹Ibid., p. 445. Cf. also Gressmann AOT² pp. 46 ff., and Müller, Rest, p. 7f.

²L. Dürr, Ursprung und Ausbau der israelitisch-jüdischen Heilandserwartung, (Berlin 1925), p. 11.

³Gressmann, AOT², p. 50

references to a remnant of Egypt illustrate the use of the concept 'remnant' in connection with a nation threatened by collapse.

3. The Remnant in Hittite Records.

In the plague prayers of Mursilis (ca., 1325 B.C.), the plague is described as being so severe that only a few people were left, and they were dying.¹ Other accounts from his reign depict the power of his Kingdom in waging war. Mursilis says of the decisive battle with the Timmuhalker people:

Weil mir beim ersten Male Timmuhala mit Kolonen, Rindern (und) Schafen entflohen war, packte ich ihn da mit Kolonen, Rindern (und) Schafen, nur wenigen Leute entkamen mir.²

These few that escaped are then, in a certain sense, a remnant.

Unlike the Assyrians, the Hittites frequently terminated military conflicts by drawing up a treaty with the enemy. Hostility between the Hittites and Egypt had been strong in the early part of the reign of Rameses II of Egypt. However the threat to the territories of both countries by the invasion of the "Sea Peoples" into the eastern coasts of the Mediterranean forced them to draw up an offensive and defensive alliance.³ Götze has translated the treaty between

¹Pritchard, Ancient Texts, p. 395.

²A. Götze, Die Annalen des Mursilis, MVAG 38 (1933), p. 175. Since this work is not available to the writer, the quotation is taken from Müller, Rest, p. 6.

³Pritchard, Ancient Texts: the Egyptian version (translator, John A. Wilson), pp. 199-201, and the Hittite version (translator A. Götze), pp. 201-203.

Mursilis and Duppi-Tessub of Amurru, and also the god list, with blessings and curses, of the treaty between Suppiluliumas of the country of Hatti and Mattiwaza of the Hurrians.¹

Treaties, which are rare in all other parts of the ancient Near East, are relatively frequent in the Hittite records.²

Unlike the Assyrians who were land-hungry, and whose civilization was built upon warfare, the Hittites desired merely to obtain a balance of power in neighbouring states. The annihilation strategy played no part in their conquests and therefore they were not concerned with the question of a survival of a remnant of the opposing force.³

4. The Remnant in Ugaritic Records

Nothing of importance has yet been unearthed at Ras Shamra regarding the remnant. In the tale of Ba'al and Anath there is a possible reference to the remnant in 'sir',⁴ but this word may be translated 'flesh'. Prof. H. L. Ginsberg translates this passage as follows:

"Birds eat his remnants,

Consuming his portions

¹Ibid., pp. 203-206.

²E. F. Weidner, Politische Dokumente aus Kleinasien (Boghazköi Studien VIII and IX, 1923).

³Muller, Rest, p. 13.

⁴G. H. Gordon, Ugaritic Handbook (Rome, 1947), sec. 49:II, ll. 35, 37.

Flitting from remnant to remnant."¹

The myth refers to the destruction of the god Mot by Anath who pulverizes him like grain ground in a mill. C. H. Gordon translates the same passage;

"So that the birds do not eat his flesh

Nor anyone destroy his portion

Flesh calls to flesh."²

Even if the translation 'remnant' is correct³, the passage is too limited in scope to bear much significance for the concept of the remnant of a people.

5. Conclusion: The Remnant in Near Eastern Texts.

Nothing in the records of the ancient Near East serves to show us exactly how the concept arose in the Old Testament. The references to the remnant of one's own people are brief, appearing only once in Hittite records, and twice in Egypt. Nowhere does the concept appear as a 'terminus technicus' in the religious sense. The Assyrian strategy of total annihilation in warfare does provide a fruitful analogy in the secular background of the Near East. The presence of a remnant of the enemy depicts the breakdown of the principle of totally destroying the opposition, and is a potential source

¹Pritchard, Ancient Texts, p. 140.

²C. H. Gordon, Ugaritic Literature (Rome 1949), p. 45. The underlined words in both translations indicate that the original meaning is doubtful.

³Professor G. R. Driver, in a private letter to Dr. N. W. Porteous, favours the translation "remnant" for "s'er".

of trouble in the future. Analogies may be seen in the Israelite conquest of Palestine where the remnants of the tribes of Canaan later rose to harass the very life of the new nation which had conquered them.

B. THE MYTHOLOGICAL BACKGROUND OF THE CONCEPT OF THE REMNANT

The origin of the remnant has been sought in mythological roots. Hugo Gressmann¹ claimed that the prophets took over intact the popular belief in a remnant. The contemporaries of the prophets derived their salvation-doom motif from the mythology of the neighbouring civilisations. At one time the salvation oracles may have been organically related to the doom oracles, but by the time that they had been taken over by Israel, they were fragmentary, exhibiting no basic union.

Wherever the prophets speak of the catastrophe of the Day of Yahweh, they do not allow for the salvation of an individual or of a part of the people, but depict the full destruction of the nation.² And yet alongside these predictions of doom stand the proclamations of a salvation-eschatology. The only explanation of this observation, according to Gressmann, is that the prophets took over the "Heilneschatology" as well as the myths about the total des-

¹Hugo Gressmann, Der Ursprung des israelitisch-jüdischen Eschatologie (Göttingen, 1905), pp. 229ff, 233.

²Amos 3:12; Hosea 9:11, 16, 12; Zeph. 1:2; Jer. 4:25; Isa. 24:17f.

truction of its world through a nature catastrophe, and placed them together in a fragmentary condition. The only "bridge" between the two is the remnant concept. Originally the remnant thought belonged to the doom eschatology;

Denn von einem Reste oder von Entronnenen redet man naturgemäß nur nach einer furchtbaren Katastrophe, die alles bis auf einen Rest vernichtet hat.¹

Gradually, however, the concept was broadened to bear the thought that this remnant that escaped should return and result in a new people, which should receive the promised blessings of paradise.² The strong patriotism of the people overcame the logical difficulties of thinking about a remnant after a universal catastrophe, and threw up the hope that Israel itself should be saved.

The popular salvation eschatology was itself basically opposed to the character of the prophetic message. The taking over of the thought of the remnant by the prophets was only an accommodation to the popular eschatology. The prophets gave the concept of the remnant particular meaning according to the time and occasion,³ introducing into the concept ethical considerations.

¹ Gressmann, Ursprung, p. 233.

² Micah 4:7.

³ Gressmann, Ursprung, p. 235. "Die Betonung der Busse dürfen wir vielleicht auf die Rechnung der Propheten setzen, aber der Restgedanke in seiner heilseschatologischen Fassung entstammt bereits dem Volksglauben, oder richtiger um seines dogmatischen Charakters willen den vorkanonischen Prophetenschulen."

Gressmann's hypothesis came as a reaction against the extremes of the Wellhausen School of biblical criticism, whereby any salvation oracle in a prophetic writing was classed as an interpolation and given a late date. In Gressmann's psychological search into the prophetic forms of speech, he notes that they were no dogmatists accustomed to reconciling opposites.

9/ Man meint der Prophet könne nicht in einem und demselben Atemzuge drohen und verheissen. Des tut er auch nicht, sondern in der Regel liegt dort eine Drohung, hier eine Verheissung vor. Warum soll der Prophet nicht das eine Mal drohen, das andere Mal verheissen?¹

Gressmann likens this to the same poet producing both funeral songs and love songs.

The two sides of salvation and doom come together, Gressmann claims, often without any intermediary, as in Hosea 3:4,5 and Micah 4:9,10. These passages illustrate the old self-explanatory scheme that fortune must follow need as sunshine follows rain. This type of oracle is common in Egypt.² Where these promises are set in the prophetic view of God, they signify that, despite puzzlement regarding the method, they were certain that God would bring about his

¹Hugo Gressmann, Der Messias (Göttingen, 1929), p. 70.

²H. Gressmann, "Foreign Influences in Hebrew Prophecy" JTS (London, 1926), pp. 241 ff. Cf. also T. J. Keek, Hebrew Origins (2nd. ed.; New York, 1950) pp. 181 ff. where he claims that threats and promises are peculiar to Egyptian and Hebrew oracles alone in the Near East, and their purpose was to bring about a new order, which came eventually to be thought of in terms of the Messianic era.

purpose.

Das Eine war ihnen gewis; Möchte Gott auch sein ganzes Volk vernichten, er würde schon Mittel und Wege finden sich aus diesen Steinen Samen Abrahams zu erwecken.¹

In Egypt, according to Gressmann, the aim of the promise oracle is basically patriotic, drawn of necessity from the fact that the prophet loved his country. And so in Israel Gressmann finds this patriotism breaking through the prophetic warnings to the people of approaching doom because of their sins. Prophecy is basically "Unheils," but the prophet's patriotism compells him to take up the note of hope such as that found in the remnant passages. The popular eschatology acknowledged that God was to bring about a destruction of the world, but a remnant, that is his people Israel would be saved. Like Gunkel,² Gressmann derives eschatology from the Old Babylonian myths centering around the precession of the equinoxes.³ The End-time will become as the First-time; that is, there will be a restoration of the original paradise. Eschatology is based essentially in nature mythology.

Sellin has criticized Gressmann for concentrating too much on the nature catastrophes of the Old Testament, and

¹Gressmann, Der Messias, p. 74.

²H. Gunkel, Genesis (2nd. ed.; Göttingen, 1902), p. 234; "Aus der Beobachtung der Präzession der Sonne erklärt sich . . . die Gleichung von Urzeit und Endzeit, die in der Eschatologie eine solche Rolle spielt."

³Gressmann, Ursprung, p. 167.

missing the emphasis upon the historical orientation of the Day of Yahweh.¹ From the oldest times the expectation of the coming Day of Yahweh was of a coming of Yahweh to his place of rulership, and it was to be a time of world judgment. Sellin acknowledges the presence of nature myths in Hebrew writings, but regards them as appendages, filling out the picture, rather than forming the substance of Hebrew eschatology.

Mowinckel follows up the work of Gressmann in deriving the concept of the remnant from mythology.² But he warns against becoming too one-sided regarding the origin, and failing to place enough emphasis on what Israel did with the borrowed material.³ He follows Gressmann and Gunkel in the form-critical method of isolating individual prophetic utterances. Yet he sees a basic unity in the doom and salvation oracles, a unity springing from the ritual enactments of the Enthronement Festival. The judgment symbolized in this festival was originally destruction for their enemies and salvation for Israel. The myth of the enthronement of

¹E. Sellin, "Alter, Wesen, und Ursprung der alttestamentlichen Eschatologie", Der alttestamentliche Prophetismus (Leipzig, 1912), pp. 124 ff.

²S. Mowinckel, Das Thronbesteigungsfest Jahwes und der Ursprung der Eschatologie; Psalmen Studien II (Oslo, 1921), p. 276 ff.

³S. Mowinckel, Prophecy and Tradition (Oslo, 1946), p. 14. Mowinckel denies that there was any true eschatology in prophetic and pre-prophetic times both in and outside Israel. Cf., also S. Mowinckel, He That Cometh, trans. G. W. Anderson (Oxford, 1956), p. 126ff.

Yahweh, which was dramatically enacted annually at the New Year's festival, depicted a time of oppression and attack overwhelming almost all the world. It was brought about by the enemies of Yahweh, and threatened to swallow up Israel and Jerusalem. Against this danger, Yahweh intervened, destroying the enemy with a great catastrophe. Jerusalem and Israel are thus saved in the last moment, and form the escaped remnant.¹ It is in this sense that the remnant has a positive content. Mowinckel admits that the term is sometimes used in the Prophets in places which portray only doom.² He would distinguish carefully between this use of the term and those places where it has a fully eschatological, dogmatic sense.³ In the first type the remnant is only a detail in the depiction of doom. In reality nothing remains over. In the second type there is a definite promise of salvation. This is true even in Isaiah where not all Israel is to be delivered, where the judgment of Yahweh is to fall within the nation on those who are not worthy. Amos had announced already that Yahweh's judgment would fall on Israel. Isaiah was the first, however, to combine this view with the positive prediction of a remnant. The limitation of the remnant

¹Mowinckel, Ps. St. II, p. 281 f., and He That Cometh, p. 139 f.

²Amos 3:12, 5:2 f, Hosea 9:11, 12, 16, Isa. 17:6, 24:13.

³Isa. 4:2 f, 10:20-23, 11:11, 16, 28:5, 37:32, Micah 4:7, 5:5-8, Zeph. 2:7, 9, Joel 3:5. (Mowinckel claims that Gressmann doesn't distinguish between the two uses of the term clearly enough; - Ps. St. II, p. 278.).

thought, i.e. "only a remnant", is really Isaiah's. The positive content, i.e. "will certainly be saved", is from the older mythology.

Mowinckel's theory of the origin of the remnant depends largely upon the validity of his hypothesis of the pre-exilic Enthronement Festival in Israel. He argues that in ancient Israel there was a New Year's festival each autumn in connection with the Jerusalem Temple, when Yahweh's enthronement as the universal King was celebrated. The ritual drama, which was enacted, ensured victory over the foes of Yahweh, who were also the foes of Israel. Yahweh renewed His covenant with them through their king, who was the mediator of His blessings. The deliverance enacted in the cult was believed to be a real deliverance over all their foes. Through the failure to achieve in actuality what was dramatized in the cult, the Israelites developed an eschatological hope that the true Day of Yahweh would come when He would be enthroned with power. Their hopes were thus projected into the future.¹

This theory of Mowinckel's is important in view of the recent emphasis upon the place of the cult as the conveyor of religious ideas in the ancient Hebrew

¹Mowinckel, Ps. St. II, p. 226, "Die Eschatologie ist dadurch entstanden, dass alles das was man ursprünglich als unmittelbare sich im Laufe des Jahres verwirklichende Folgen der im Kult erlebten alljährlichen Thronbesteigung Yahweh erwartete in eine unbestimmte Zukunft hinausgeschoben wurde."

faith.¹ Several critics of Mowinckel's theory acknowledge that there was a pre-exilic cultic celebration in Israel, but deny that it was the Enthronement of Yahweh. H. J. Kraus claims that there was a royal festival of Zion celebrating the procession of the Ark to Jerusalem, and the establishment of the Davidic line as Yahweh's chosen Royal House.² Kraus says that even in post-exilic times, where we find in Jewish rites mythical elements of the Babylonian Enthronement Festival, these point none-the-less toward the historical experience of Yahweh's proceeding to Jerusalem. Norman Snaith says that the phrase "Day of the Lord" arose from the celebration of the autumnal harvest feast, and the associated ideas of the change of fate.³ However he disagrees with Mowinckel's claim that there was a Feast of the Coronation of Yahweh celebrated after the fashion of the Mesopotamian city temples. Snaith claims that that "change of fortune" idea in Babylon goes back to astrology, whereas in agricultural Palestine the idea develops through the Tammuz-Adonis fertility

¹Of. A.C. Welch, Prophet and Priest in Old Israel (Oxford, 1935); W.J. Phythian-Adams, The People and the Presence (London, 1942); G. von Rad, "Das Formgeschichtliche Problem des Hexateuchs", BWANT Vierte Folge, Heft 26 (Stuttgart, 1938); A. R. Johnson, The Cultic Prophet in Ancient Israel (Cardiff, 1944); A. Haldar, Associations of Cult Prophets among the Ancient Semites (Uppsala, 1945); I. Engnell, The Call of Isaiah (Uppsala, 1949); A.S. Kapelrud, "Cult and Prophetic Words", Studia Theologica, IV (1951) No. 1, pp. 5-10.

²H.J. Kraus, Die Königsherrschaft Gottes im Alten Testament (Tübingen, 1951), pp. 38ff.

³Norman Snaith, The Jewish New Year Festival: Its Origins and Development (London, 1947), p. 73.

cults.¹ During the exile new ideas came in through contact with Babylonia, but it is highly unlikely that they took over any dramatisations allowing the Deity to be represented by mortal man.² The association of the Kingdom of God with the New Year Festival in Judaism dated not earlier than the second century A.D. Snaith argues that the enthronement psalms are post-exilic, being dependent upon Deutero-Isaiah. A.R. Johnson finds, however, that with Snaith's arguments the opposite conclusion is possible, and the dependence may really be on the side of Deutero-Isaiah.³ Regarding the possibility of a pre-exilic Enthronement Festival in Israel, Johnson concludes that, "while there can be no question that Mowinckel overstates his case, . . . his basic theory is far from having been overthrown."⁴

While there is much that is possible in Mowinckel's reconstruction of the ancient Israelite Festival of Enthronement, and its implications for the origin of the remnant concept, it is not sufficient to be satisfied with the rite and fail to probe into the factors which gave rise to the rite.⁵

¹Ibid., p. 218.

²Ibid., p. 220.

³A.R. Johnson, "The Psalms", The Old Testament and Modern Study, ed. H.H. Rowley (Oxford, 1951), p. 193 ff.

⁴Ibid., p. 195.

⁵H.W. Robinson, Inspiration and Revelation in the Old Testament (Oxford, 1946), p. 142, "It is difficult to establish priority, but it may be claimed that a ritual does not (in the first place) create a mythology but is the concrete expression of one. . . . The eschatology of Israel has unique qualities which must be drawn from its unique faith in a unique God."

Mowinckel himself acknowledges the danger of a facile derivation from ritual patterns of all the phenomena of Hebrew prophecy, and of ignoring the influence of the real historical experience of Israel. He writes;

There is no doubt that the actual history and the spiritual situation in the congregation and the circle of the prophet's disciples have acted more strongly than any ritual pattern and its scheme.¹

In view of the close association between the rise of eschatology and the origin of the remnant,² it is significant that Mowinckel now lays more emphasis upon the element of future hope in the ritual of the cult.³ Not all the promises associated with Yahweh's coming were to be fulfilled immediately. There was a projection into the future of the final settlement of Yahweh's promises to his people, an expectation of the coming end time. Mowinckel maintains that this expectation should not be termed eschatological. He prefers the description future hope.

It is not possible for the writer, within the limits of this study, to enter into a detailed consideration of the

¹Mowinckel, Prophecy and Tradition, p. 83.

²Herrntrich, ThWNT IV, p. 203, "Die Frage nach der Entstehung des theologisch geprägten Restgedankens steht im engsten Zusammenhang mit der Frage des Ursprungs der alt. lichen Eschatologie."

³S. Mowinckel, Offersang og sangoffer (Oslo, 1951). This book has been available to me only through the review of G.W. Anderson in JBL, LXXII, Pt. II (June, 1953). Cf. also Mowinckel, He That Cometh, p. 141.

definition of the term 'eschatology' as it applies to the Hebrew faith. The definition given by Mowinckel,¹ however, appears to be too narrow, and fails to account adequately for the fact, mentioned by Mowinckel,² that the pre-exilic prophets spoke of Yahweh's intervention in terms of cosmic powers and terrors.³ If eschatology may be defined broadly as dealing with ultimate things, then elements of the prophetic view of the immediate future could be so defined. The true prophet saw in the expectation of the 'Day of Yahweh', the promise of the visitation of One who was Judge of all the world, who brought Israel to face the ultimate issues of life.

With this in mind, is it not necessary to reconsider Mowinckel's claim that the cult is primary and the eschatology secondary?⁴ Are we justified in regarding the early history of the People of Israel as merely the projection into the past of the experience of the coming of God in the cult?⁵

¹Mowinckel, He That Cometh, p. 125 ff.

²Ibid., p. 131 f.

³Cf. James Muilenburg, "Preface to Hermeneutics," JBL, LXXVII (March, 1958), p. 25, "The Old Testament is implicitly eschatological from the beginning if we are permitted to use the word in a fluid sense." Cf. also S.H. Hooke in a review of Mowinckel, He That Cometh, in New Testament Studies Vol. 4, No. 3 (April, 1958).

⁴Mowinckel, Ps. St. II, p. 231. In his recent book, He That Cometh, p. 153, Mowinckel does say that the root of eschatology is to be found in Israel's unique conception of God as the God of history.

⁵Mowinckel, Ps. St. II, pp. 24, 54 ff.

Is it not, at least, highly probable that what Israel remembered and re-lived in the cult finds its origin, not in an inherited mythology, but in the reality of its own early history?¹ We shall, therefore, proceed to examine the possibility of the remnant concept springing from the early religious experience of the People of Israel.

D. THE CONCEPT OF THE REMNANT IN RELATION TO THE EARLY RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE OF THE PEOPLE OF ISRAEL

The actual term, "remnant," does not figure in the accounts of the early revelation of God to His People. The concept embodied in the term may appear, however, where the term itself is absent. That is, the notion of judgment, and of a salvation out of that judgment, would embody the concept implicit in the term 'remnant.'

We come close to this in Sellin's claim that Old Testament eschatology arises from the revelation of Yahweh at Sinai as the Ruler of the world.

Der Ursprung der ganzen alttestamentlichen Eschatologie beruht in der Offenbarungstat vom Sinai, durch die der Keim zu der Hoffnung eines künftigen analogen Erscheinens Yahwes zwecks Antritts des schrankenlosen Weltregimentes in das Herz des Volkes hinein gesenkt wurde.²

Sellin sees Unheils - Heils - and Heilandserwartung as three sides of the one religious hope springing from the revelation

¹Cf. M. Buber, Königtum Gottes (2nd ed., Berlin, 1936), p. 120.

²Sellin, Der alttestamentliche Eschatologie, p. 148.

of Yahweh as King and Judge.¹ In the popular hope arising from this theophany, its judgment was to fall only on the heathen. The prophetic movement deepened this eschatological outlook by warning that the "Day of Yahweh" meant judgment on Israel as well.²

Lorenz Dürer follows Sellin in deriving the Israelite hope of salvation and judgment from the revelation of Yahweh at Sinai.³ The vitality of the Israelite religion has its deepest ground in Yahwism. Dürer says significantly,

Die einzigartige Gottesvorstellung Israels ist die tiefste Wurzel der einzigartigen religiösen Erwartung.⁴

Thus, according to Dürer, doom and salvation find a unity in the expectations aroused by Yahweh's appearing to His People. They are not broken fragments, as Gressmann claims, but belong together logically, psychologically, and historically.⁵

¹Ibid., pp. 182, 192. Cf. Mowinkel, PS St. II, pp. 223 f., where he says that Sellin doesn't explain how the longing for the return of Yahweh necessarily leads to an expectation of judgment.

²Sellin, Der alttestamentlichen Eschatologie, p. 186 f.

³Dürer, Ursprung, p. 46.

⁴Ibid., p. 52. Cf. W. Eichrodt, Theologie des Alten Testaments (Vol. I; Leipzig, 1933), pp. 157, 168, 194, 273; and also idem, Die Hoffnung des ewigen Friedens im alten Israel (Gutersloh, 1920), p. 163 ff.; and G. Péloux, Le Dieu qui vient (Neuchâtel, 1947), p. 50. Péloux places the origin of eschatology in Israel, deriving it from the revelation at Sinai. He says that the notion of the remnant ranks among the termini technici of eschatological language, and its origin dates from a very ancient epoch. (p. 42).

⁵Dürer, Ursprung, p. 38.

The other side of the hope of salvation is that hindrances must be put out of the way. This implies the destruction of the nations which stand as permanent opposers of Israel.

Die Folge davon war dann die Vorstellung einer gewaltigen Katastrophe, bei welcher Israel infolge der besonderen Erwählung als der יְהוָה oder der יְהוָה erfunden werden würde.¹

The prophets, Dürr claims, were the first to bring doom over on to Israel, seeing the Day of Yahweh as a day of darkness rather than light.

The tendency of both Sellin, and Dürr is to credit the ethical aspect of the judgment of Yahweh to the prophets themselves. The original scheme was disaster for the heathen, and salvation for Israel. The revelation of Sinai becomes then, something akin to nationalism. We are left with the question of how to account for the realisation of the ethical side of this revelation on the part of the prophets.

Prof. E. Würthwein points out their close association with the cultic life of Israel.² Würthwein criticizes Gunkel's evolutionary view of the Hebrew Religion, and shows instead that the prophets claimed to be no innovators, but spoke forth the word which had been handed down and preserved in the cult. Dealing specifically with the prophetic judgment speeches,³ Würthwein notes that only where there is an

¹Ibid., p. 40.

²Ernst Würthwein, "Der Ursprung der prophetischen Gerichtsrede," ZTK, 49th year (July, 1952), pp. 1-16.

³Würthwein gives as examples Hos. 4:1 f, 1:3 f, Isa. 3:13 f, Micah 6:1 ff, Jer. 2:5 ff, 25:30 ff, Mal. 3:5.

obligation, can there be an indictment. The origin of this obligation lies in the Covenant;

Diese von den Propheten vorausgesetzte Verpflichtung ist durch das Bundesverhältnis zwischen Yahwe und Israel bestimmt. Jahwe erscheint nicht als der Gott der Menschheit schlechthin. Die Anklage, die die Propheten in seinem Namen erheben, darf nicht primär als Ausdruck eines sittlichen Bewusstseins verstanden werden, das in den Propheten erstmalig ans Licht getreten wäre. Sie ist vielmehr am Gesetz als Willensausdruck Yahwes, wie es z.B. längst vor den Propheten im Bundesbuch formuliert wurde orientiert.¹

Thus the concept of God's judgment upon Israel appears in the cult through persons who speak in Yahweh's name. The judgment is not only against the nations, but against the wicked in Israel, against those who have broken their covenant obligations.²

Therefore, while there arose a popular concept of the remnant as judgment on the enemy, and salvation for Israel, this was a perversion of the true revelation of God. That the essential idea of the remnant as the true People of God appears early in Israel may be seen by an examination of the principle of selection in J. The essential kernel of the remnant thought is found in Gen. 7:23b (following 6:8 and 7:1,5). The call to be the People of God, to be the recipient of his favour demands the response of obedience to that call.

¹Ibid., p. 8.

²Ibid., pp. 12 ff. Würthwein refers here to Psa. 50 and 68. The judgments professed in these psalms do not indicate an anti-cultic tendency, but are the outcome of the reading of the Law in the cult.

Israel is not a people in a simply natural, biological way.¹ Israel is Israel only through the will of God and not by its own power. God, by His act of deliverance, constituted Israel as His own peculiar people;

You have seen what I did to the Egyptians, and how I bore you on eagles' wings and brought you to myself. Now therefore, if you will obey my voice and keep my covenant, you shall be my own possession among all peoples; for all the earth is mine, and you shall be to me a kingdom of priests and a holy nation.²

There is implied here the fact that if Israel, on her side, wishes to terminate the covenant, she may do so, and in so doing can no longer claim to be God's people.³ Yet the repudiation of the covenant by Israel does not mean that God has repudiated her election.

The grace of God pursues her, and seeks to renew His claim upon her loyalty. He will not lightly give her up. Just as His grace preceded her response in her deliverance from Egypt, so it persists after the failure of her response. Yet it is never indifferent to her response. Its continuance after her failure to respond is a claim to the renewal of her response, and a claim which continues so long as there is any hope of that renewal.⁴

¹Cf. Nils. A. Dahl, Das Volk Gottes: eine Untersuchung zum Kirchenbewusstsein des Urchristentums (Oslo, 1941), p. 5, "Der Begriff 'Israel' bleibt also Bezeichnung für eine geschichtliche Wirklichkeit und enthält doch etwas, das über die gegebene geschichtliche Wirklichkeit hinausweist. Darin liegt die Möglichkeit begründet dass es Bezeichnung einer eschatologischen Wirklichkeit werden konnte." Dahl goes on to say that when the people as a whole seek their security in their own existence as a nation, the true faith is then found only in the remnant. The remnant is then the true Israel (pp. 32,33). Cf. also J. Bright, Early Israel in Recent History Writing (London, 1956), p. 114, "What is it that made Israel Israel? -- what but faith?"

²Ex. 19:4-6a.

³Cf. Jer. 18:1 f.

⁴Rowley, Election, p. 52.

It is the remnant, according to Rowley, which is the bearer of that hope of renewal for an apostate Israel.

The close association of the remnant motif with election is stressed also by G.A. Danell.¹

Through a series of decrees and acts of election Yahweh creates the people which He promised to Abraham. The idea of a Remnant is implied in that of Election. The people of God is established out of a Remnant, even if this expression doesn't occur in the text.²

The prophetic judgment, he finds, is derived from the idea of the Election of God's people.³ It never implies total annihilation, but is rather, "a catharsis aiming at renewal and resurrection through death to life."⁴ Thus, in the Election of Israel, we see the possibility of bringing together the salvation and doom oracles which Gressmann concluded had no basic unity. In the Election of Israel we see the judging and saving God at work in choosing a people for Himself and in demanding obedience from them. So we may say with Hertrich, "sofern Israel erwählt ist, ist es als 'Rest Israels' gesetzt."⁵ No ordinary nation is this which the Holy One

¹G.A. Danell, "The Idea of God's People in the Bible," Root of the Vine, ed. A. Fridrichsen (Westminster, 1953), pp. 23-36.

²Ibid., p. 25.

³Amos 3:2, Isa. 2:5 ff.

⁴Ibid., p. 31.

⁵Hertrich, ThWNT IV, p. 206. Cf. Also G.H. Davies, "The Remnant," Theological Word Book of the Bible, ed. A. Richardson (London, 1951), pp. 188-191, "From one point of view the idea of election contains the idea of a remnant." Cf. also, H.H. Rowley, Election, p. 71. "Of the children of Isaac one inherited the election and the other did not. Here, so early, was the seed of the doctrine of the Remnant. The heritage of the promises was not automatic, but something that needed to be accepted."

takes to Himself. It is rather an *וְיָרַד עָלָיו*, a people separated unto Himself, chosen to convey to future generations His promises to all men.

The relation of the law to the origin of the remnant has been dealt with by O. Schilling.¹ He sees the origin of the concept of the remnant as grounded in the sanctions of the law, especially in Lev. 26, and the deuteronomic parallels. The people believed that they were able to claim the positive sanctions of the law, and so they developed the remnant concept as something which promised them salvation. The prophets, on the contrary, stressed the negative sanctions of the law, and so developed the threatening aspect of the remnant thought. The prophetic remnant, though stressing judgment and retribution, maintained a certain note of promise. The prophets freed the concept of the remnant from nationalistic traits and emphasized the ethical decision facing their people. Fohrer states that this derivation of the remnant from the law is dubious because Lev. 26, and Deuteronomy can hardly be dated before the writing prophets. It should be observed, however, that many parts of the Holiness Code (Lev. 17-26) consist of material formed in the old days of tribal chiefs and kings.² While such a passage as Lev. 26:34-44 bears evidence of post-exilic dating, it is not

¹O. Schilling, 'Rest' in der Prophetie des Alten Testaments (Diss., Münster, 1942). This book was not available to me. I am indebted for a summary of its thesis to G. Fohrer, "Neuere Literatur zur alttestamentlichen Prophetie," Theologische Rundschau, NF 20 Jahrgang (1952), Heft 4, pp. 348-350.

²Cf. A. Bentzen, Introduction to the Old Testament (2nd ed.; Copenhagen, 1952), II, 22.

necessary that the threat pronounced in Lev. 26:21-22 is of a late date. The work which Würthwein has already done with the origin of the judgment speeches¹ would indicate the probability of there being in Early Israel, in connection with the giving of the Law, a pattern of promise-threat implications of that Law.

It would be beyond the scope of this thesis to go in- to the question of the origin of the Law, and of the tradi- tions regarding Moses. It is worthy of note, however, that some scholars have given more and more attention to the place of Moses as an historical person of importance for the early development of the Hebrew religion. In a recent article, H.H. Rowley has sought to show a high degree of probability for the Mosaic origin of the Decalogue.² He finds that the Ethical Decalogue of Exodus 20:1-17 bears the stamp of the greatness of the personality of Moses, and that its ethical basis is wholly in accord with Israel's Covenant with Yahweh in response to its creation in deliverance from Egypt.

¹cf. supra, p. 38 f.

²H.H. Rowley, "Moses and the Decalogue," BJRL, Vol. 34, No. 1, (September, 1951), pp. 81-118. "Yahwism didn't begin to be ethical in the eighth century B.C." p. 95.

CONCLUSION - THE ORIGIN OF THE CONCEPT OF THE REMNANT

Any attempt to find theological parallels to the remnant concept in other civilisations brings but meagre results. While the concept has mythological associations in the Old Testament, these are not the kernel of the idea, but accretions. The concept appears quite early in Israel's history in connection with an obligation to make an ethical decision. The origin of the remnant idea is closely connected with the origin of eschatology, which was not borrowed from Israel's neighbours, but springs from the coming of Yahweh into the historical experience of his People. We are unable, with present data, to ascertain much concerning Israel's early faith. But wherever we find the idea of an ethical judgment of Yahweh, of an Israel within Israel, of the true People of God, there we will find the notion of the remnant. The popular idea of the remnant left out the aspect of judgment, turning it into a nationalistic promise to Israel. It was left to the prophetic movement to restore the judgment aspect to the concept, and to develop its implications for the People of God.

Chapter III

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CONCEPT OF THE REMNANT

UP TO THE PROPHECY OF ISAIAH

A. THE YAHWIST

1. Primitive History

(a) The Flood Narrative

It is natural that, when the Yahwist took over the account of the World Deluge, he also included the motif of a man and his family being preserved to maintain the human race.¹ The transference of the name of the person saved from Ziusudra or Utnapishtim to Noah would not of itself signify much regarding the concept of the remnant. It is clear, however, that, in his treatment of the relationship of Noah to the destruction of the world by the flood, the Yahwist has made the concept^{of} the remnant an integral part of the primitive history.

Prof. G. von Rad has pointed out that the main body of the Flood narrative is bracketed by J's own theological insights²

¹Cf. The Sumerian myth of the Deluge, translated by S.N. Kramer in Pritchard, Ancient Texts, pp. 42-44. Cf. also Müller, Rest, p. 42, and esp. n. 3.

²G. von Rad, "Das erste Buch Mose; Pt. 1, Genesis Kapitel 1-12:9", ATD II (Göttingen, 1949), pp. 95 f., 100 ff.

In the prologue, Gen. 6:5-8, we are taken into the inner counsels of the divine heart, there to see the profound anger at the sinfulness of man, and to hear the pronouncement of judgment upon the whole world. Once more in the epilogue, Gen. 8:20-22, we are brought back to share God's thoughts with Him, and we find the outflow of divine love towards man, even though man remains a sinner. We are brought into the presence of a living God, who inexplicably imposes self-restraint upon His acts of judgment for the purpose of the salvation of this sinful race. This self-restraint is part of God's grace, and is really the other side of His judgment.¹

Thus in this ancient saga we find a union of the judgment and salvation motifs. The basic unity of "Unheil" and "Heil," which Gressmann thought had disappeared long before this, is to be seen in the counsels of God Himself.

That Noah is to be considered as a remnant is clear from Gen. 7:23 b, "Only Noah was left ($\text{וְנֹחַ} \text{ } \text{וְכָל אֲשֶׁר אִתּוֹ}$) and those that were with him in the ark."² From his birth Noah was considered to be the means of salvation for his people.³ He found favour (וַיִּחַן) in the eyes of the Lord,⁴ and was

¹Cf. von Rad, Erste Moses I, p. 100; "Der gleiche Befund, der im Prolog Gottes Strafgericht begründet, lässt im Epilog Gottes Gnade und Nachsicht offenbar werden!"

²Cf. Davies, "Remnant", TWBB, p. 189, "All the essential remnant ideas are present in that story." Cf. also G. H. Davies, "Yahwistic Tradition in the Eighth Century Prophets," Studies in Old Testament Prophecy, ed. H.H. Rowley (Edinburgh, 1950), p. 50, and Hertrich, TWNT, p. 207, l. 25.

³Gen. 5:29.

⁴Gen. 6:8.

chosen to survive the Flood because he was $\text{p}^{\text{r}}\text{7}\text{8}$.¹ This word, which is ordinarily translated "righteous" means primarily "standing in the right relationship."² The Hebrew concept is much more comprehensive than the narrow juridical meaning usually associated with the word "righteousness." In ancient Israel it was given a concreteness in the relationships of the covenant community. It was never a merely abstract concept of ethics.³ And so Noah through his $\text{p}^{\text{r}}\text{7}\text{8}$ has no claim upon God based upon some intrinsic merit of his own. By believing and trusting God, however, Noah stands in the right relationship to the covenant initiated by God and thus finds God gracious.

The extent of Noah's trust in Yahweh is indicated by the fact that he built the Ark on the dry ground. Von Rad has observed⁴ that the original narrative of J in which Noah was commanded to build the Ark has been eliminated in the final version. The P account takes its place, portraying the imminent destruction through the Flood. In the following section of J we see that Yahweh announces the Flood only when the Ark is ready.⁵ In other words, according to J, Noah had

¹ Gen. 7:1.

² Cf. Eichrodt, TAT III, p. 89; Conny Edlund, Das Auge der Einfalt (Uppsala, 1952), p. 37 f.; C.H. Dodd, The Bible and the Greeks (London, 1935), p. 46; and T. F. Torrance, The Doctrine of Grace in the Apostolic Fathers (Edinburgh, 1948), p. 17.

³ Cf. N. Snaith, The Distinctive Ideas of the Old Testament (London, 1944), pp. 72 f., 163ff., and Pedersen, Israel I - II, p. 338.

⁴ Von Rad, Erste Moses I, p. 98.

⁵ Gen. 7:1-5.

built the Ark in obedience to God, even though he did not know why he was being ordered to build it. Noah's obedience and faith were being tested by the command to build the Ark upon the dry ground.¹ While von Rad's conjecture cannot be readily proved, Noah's obedience to the command of God remains as the foundation of the whole story. The remnant, the seed of Adam was preserved through judgment by the response of one man to the outflow of divine love and mercy.

The epilogue relates how Noah built an altar and offered a sacrifice to Yahweh, an act which was found pleasing and acceptable.

And when the Lord smelled the pleasing odor, the Lord said in his heart, "I will never again curse the ground because of man, for the imagination of man's heart is evil from his youth; neither will I ever again destroy every living creature as I have done. While the earth remains, seedtime and harvest, cold and heat, summer and winter, day and night shall not cease."²

The remarkable note struck in this epilogue is the declaration of Yahweh's purpose of good will toward men, even though their thoughts are still evil. This evidence of the outflow of divine grace prevents us from making the cultic performance of sacrifice regulate this new relationship of Yahweh toward Noah and his descendants.³ Noah's sacrifice is to be regarded

¹Heb. 11:7, cf. also Gen. 12:4 and Heb. 11:8.

²Gen. 8:21, 22.

³Concerning this sacrifice von Rad (Ibid., p. 100), writes, "Die innere Verknüpfung der Gesinnung Yahwes mit dem vorausgegangenen Opfer ist doch sehr locker, und die Freiheit des Entschlusses im göttlichen Herzen ist vom Erzähler durchaus gewahrt."

as a confession of man's need of atonement, rather than a cultic act to restore a regular relationship between man and God. The latter interpretation leads W.E. Müller to a false concept of the nature of Noah's *17P75*. He concludes,

Es liegt nahe hieraus den Schluss zu ziehen, dass der *17P75* aus dem Bewusstsein seiner *17P75* ein Anrecht auf das von der Gottheit gewährleistete Leben ableiten und angesichts einer Katastrophe seine Verschonung fordern kann.¹

Müller's argument that *17P75* was regarded as the basis for a claim upon God's favour does not apply here. All human claims for the Yahwist must bow before the Sovereign Lord. In the final analysis, however, the will of God is seen to be "Heil," salvation for mankind.²

Thus we see in the Flood narrative that, in the very early stages of the life of the People of Israel, the main outline of a concept of the Remnant has taken shape. In the face of the threat of destruction of the group because of their sin, a portion is to be left over to maintain a people, and to become the means of the eventual implementation of God's promises. Certainly at this early stage the delineation is not clear, but the emphasis upon the remnant as saved through divine action is significant for the later development of the concept.

¹Müller, Rest, p. 43.

²Cf. G.E. Wright, "The Faith of Israel", The Interpreter's Bible I (Nashville, 1953), p. 369, col. 2.

(b) The Narrative of the Tower of Babel and the
Call of Abraham

While there is no explicit mention of the remnant concept in the Tower legend,¹ and the call of Abraham,² the basic idea is evident from these two stories taken together.³ The disposal of mankind takes place this time in the form of a confusion of language, and a dispersion throughout the earth. The second civilisation has come to an end as far as being a co-ordinate organism, and the source of significant history. The bearer of the future hopes of mankind is Abraham, who, through his obedience to God's call, forms the remnant of the second civilisation which sprang from the house of Noah.

The Yahwist has pictured a growing avalanche of sin, from the First Pair, through Cain, Lamech, the Heavenly Beings, to the pinnacle of presumption on the part of man against God in the Tower of Babel story. Accompanying this rapid increase in sinfulness is a corresponding enlargement of God's measures of judgment. And yet, in all this, at each stage we see the outflow of God's grace towards man. He clothed the First Pair, protected Cain, gave Lamech a son who survived the flood, and through whom God made a new beginning with man, despite the fact that man remained unchanged in nature. This theologi-

¹Gen. 11:1-10.

²Gen. 12:1-3.

³Cf. Davies, "Remnant," TWBB, p. 189.

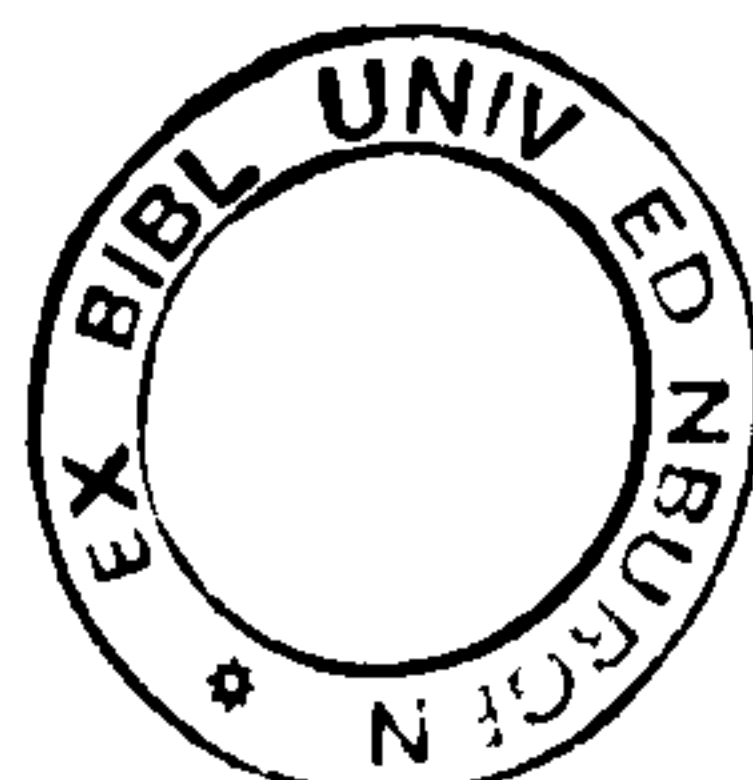
ical insight of the Yahwist causes von Rad to remark;

Wir sehen also, wie jedesmal in und unter dem Gericht ein bewahrender, vergebender Heilswille Gottes offenbar wird, wie mit dem Mächtigwerden der Sünde, die Gnade noch viel mächtiger wird (Rom. 5:20). Das ist alles freilich nicht begrifflich theologisch formuliert; Begriffe wie 'Heil', 'Gnade', 'Vergebung', suchen wir vergeblich; es sind nur Tatsache erzählt, die durch Worte göttlicher Geduld wirklich geworden sind.¹

With this pattern in mind, it is evident that God's concern for mankind generally cannot have ceased, according to the Yahwist, with the scattering after the Tower episode. The abrupt narrowing of attention down to Abraham and his descendants does not mean that interest in mankind has evaporated. Gen. 12:1-3 should, instead, be considered as the conclusion of the Yahwist's primitive history. God has not given up mankind, but has chosen a new course whereby His salvation can be mediated to all the world. In choosing Abraham, God creates a new people, and in them begins His "Heilsgeschichte." And so at the beginning of Israel's history we find the concept of the remnant operating. The remnant here springs from God's purpose of grace toward man, and is made possible through the response of obedience on the part of one man.² It is a separation which bears within it the seeds of a

¹von Rad, Erste Moses, I, 128.

²Gen. 12:4.



universalism.¹ This universal aspect can be maintained even though we accept the translation of the Niphal [D72] as reflexive, as in the R.S.V.; "By you all the families of the earth will bless themselves."² The reflexive brings out the sense of the passage in this way, that Abram and his descendants will be so blessed of God that all men will invoke a like blessing on themselves. They will be so filled with wonder at God's gracious acts toward Israel, that they will want nothing better than that they themselves should become recip-

¹Cf. K. Gallig, Die Erwählungstraditionen Israels (Giessen, 1928), p. 41ff., and Th.C. Vriezen, Die Erwählung Israels nach dem alten Testament (Zürich, 1953), p. 86. Vriezen says that J is not the nationalist which Gallig pictures. G. Lindeskog, "The Theology of Creation in the Old and New Testaments," Root of the Vine, p. 5, says that the signs of universalism begin to appear in Gen. 12:3b. So also writes C.R. North, The Old Testament Interpretation of History (London, 1946), p. 26, and M. Noth, Überlieferungsgeschichte des Pentateuch (Stuttgart, 1948), p. 257. Cf. also W. Eichrodt, Israel in der Weissagung des Alten Testaments (Zurich, 1951), p. 30; "Nicht politische Weltherrschaft irgendwelcher Art wird also hier in Aussicht gestellt, sondern Weltherrschaft des Glaubens Abrahams. In seinem Namen, den Gott gross machen will, fasst sich ein wirklich erfülltes Menschenleben im Frieden Gottes zusammen und zeigt den wahren Charakter des Endheils, von dem die Völker in so vielen sehnsuchtsvollen Sagen erzählen." G. E. Wright, The Old Testament Against Its Environment (London, 1950), pp. 51-53, likewise stresses the universal character of the Call of Abraham: "Following the Tower of Babel story we are immediately informed of the election of Abraham - - - - - The only logical assumption is that the election of Israel in some way must be the answer to the plight of man." (p. 53). Cf. also the same author, God Who Acts (London, 1952), p. 51, and "The Faith of Israel" IB I, p. 351, col. 1.

²Gen. 12:3b. The phrase occurs again in Gen. 18:18, 28:14 in the Niphal. Both of these verses belong to the J document. In Gen. 22:18, 26:4, the Hithpael is used. These two verses are ascribed to a redactor by S.R. Driver, to E by Eissfeldt, the first to E and the second to J by Oesterly and Robinson (cf. Rowley, Election, p. 66, n. 2).

ients of such grace.¹

The main interest of the following sections of J is narrowed down to the history of Israel. The sense of mission to those outside Israel is certainly not developed, but the relationship of these special events to world history is never totally lost. Abraham as the remnant is the bearer of God's future plans of salvation for all the races of the earth.

2. The Patriarchal History

(a) Abraham's Intercession

W. E. Müller has drawn attention to the remnant motif lying behind the conversation narrative of Abraham with Yahweh.² He cites this narrative as an example of the principle he claimed to have found in the Noah saga, that the *P'7S* has the right, because of his *17P7S*, to lay claim to exemption from catastrophe.³ He believes that the significance of the dialogue between Yahweh and Abraham is that the Yahwist is leading up to the high point of a sifting of the righteous from the ungodly. The dialogue is broken off suddenly, indicating that there was more yet to be said, and we can see the

¹Rowley, while limiting this passage rather too strictly to a concern for Abram and his descendants, does acknowledge that it has some universal significance: "There is not yet the thought of others sharing the springs of her blessing in the sharing of her faith, but there is the consciousness that ultimately it is her faith which gives her whatever significance she has for men." - Election, p. 66.

²Gen. 18:22 ff. Cf. Müller, Rest, pp. 43-45.

³Cf. *supra*, p. 49.

intention of the Narrator only by the following saga, Gen. 19:1-29, which tells of Lot's escape.¹

An examination of the composition of these passages, however, will show that such a conclusion is unjustified. The Mamre and Sodom sagas are evidently based on old traditions which the Yahwist adapted, whereas the two sections Gen. 18:17-18² and 20-23 appear to be the Yahwist's own composition, and express his theological position more than the older saga.³ Just as in Gen. 6:5-8 and 8:20-22 we are led to share the deliberations of Yahweh, so in these passages the Yahwist gives us further disclosures of the counsels of God. We must keep in mind, therefore, that the question of the fate of the righteous in Gen. 18:23-33 cannot be equated simply with the fate of Lot in Gen. 19. In the former passage the Yahwist has more freedom to express his own theological conceptions.⁴

¹Müller, Rest, p. 44 f.; "Der Yahwist, der diese Episode in den Gang seiner Darstellung eingebaut hat, einen Höhepunkt für sie bereit hat. Gott beantwortet die am Ende des Gesprächs zwischen den beiden Partnern noch schwebende, unausgesprochene letzte Frage, indem er eine Sichtung vollzieht. Dieser Gedanke der Sichtung, der in der Prophetie besondere Bedeutung erlangt, taucht hier zum ersten Male auf. Lot wird als *p' 7s* im Sinne von v. 23 ff. erfunden und 'um seines Lebens willen gerettet.'"

²Regarding Gen. 18:19 as an interpolation, cf. Noth, Überlieferungsgeschichte, p. 259, and von Rad, "Das erste Buch Moses; Pt. 2, Genesis Kapitel 12:10-25", ATD III (Göttingen, 1953), p. 178.

³Cf. Ibid. pp. 177 f., 182 f., Noth, Überlieferungsgeschichte, p. 258, and J. Köberle, Sünde und Gnade (Munich, 1905), p. 53.

⁴Cf. Noth, Überlieferungsgeschichte, p. 258, N. 625, who opposes Gunkel's description of this passage as an interpolation. "Gerade sein tiefer theologischer Inhalt spricht durchaus dafür, dass es nicht von irgendeinem Interpolator, sondern aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach von dem Theologen J stammt."

Not once does the deliverance of Lot and his family enter directly into this dialogue between Abraham and Yahweh. The setting of the narrative is the threatened destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah, but the problem facing the Yahwist has only a theoretical relationship to these cities in particular. It is highly improbable, according to Gen. 19, that there would be a single *P'78* found in Sodom.¹ Nor can we deduce from this dialogue an inclination towards a doctrine of individual responsibility.

denn Sodom hört für Abraham doch nicht auf, eine durch Blutsbande und Schicksal zusammengehörige Gemeinschaft zu sein. Es geht Abraham ja auch nicht um die Herauslösung der Unschuldigen aus der Stadt und um ihre gesonderte Bewahrung; es geht ihm um etwas anderes und viel Größeres, nämlich von Anfang bis zum Ende um das ganze Sodom!²

This approach was based upon the realistic Semitic concept of the community, namely that the fate of an individual is inseparable from the fate of the whole group.

The cautious, humble probing by the Yahwist into the righteousness of God's acts with Sodom represents the result of some bold and penetrating theological reflection. Should Yahweh prescribe destruction of a community because the

¹ Lot himself did not belong to Sodom, and therefore is not to be regarded as a remnant representative of that city and bearing in the fact of his existence the hopes of a future restoration of Sodom. This is illustrated by the fact that, in the memory of Israel the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah is the classic example of total destruction. Cf. Deut. 29:23, Isa. 1:9 f., 13:19, Jer. 49:18, 50:40, Ezek. 16:46 ff., Hos. 11:8, Amos 4:11, Zeph. 2:9, Ps. 11:6, Lam. 4:6.

² Von Rad, Erste Moses II, p. 181. Examples of the ancient concept of collective responsibility for sin may be seen in Gen. 20:9, Josh. 7:24 ff., Deut. 21:1-9.

majority are ^Q177, or should He not judge a few ^Qp'78 to be weightier than a large majority of ^Q177? It is not a question of individualism here, but of the righteousness of God's acts in His relationship with Sodom as a community. The astonishing decision is reached that a very small number of the ^Qp'78 are weightier in the eyes of God than a majority of the ^Q177 and would be the means of preventing the judgment of God from destroying the city. "Das Gesetz der Schuldübertragung hat seine Kehrseite im Gesetz der Stellvertretung."¹

Although the dialogue fails to deal with the question of the vicarious substitution of a single p'78 for the whole city, there is no need to judge that the conversation is incomplete as it stands, or that it broke off before bringing us to a satisfactory conclusion.² Yahweh's answer that for ten who are righteous the city would be spared is sufficient for the Yahwist. To go further than this in his questioning had not crossed his mind. He was satisfied that he had to do with a God whose ultimate purpose is not judgment and malediction, but salvation and blessing.³

We find, therefore, no basis in the Abraham dialogue for Müller's assertion that the Yahwist is portraying a sifting,

¹0. Procksch, Genesis (2nd ed.; Leipzig, 1924), p. 125.

²Against Müller, Rest, p. 43, "Das Gespräch zwischen Jahve und Abraham bricht unvermittelt ab, ohne dass die durch die Fragen des letzteren erregte Spannung über das endgültige Geschick der Bewohner Sodoms eine Lösung erfährt. Cf. von Rad, Erste Moses II, p. 182.

³Cf. Noth, Überlieferungsgeschichte, p. 259.

or separation of the righteous from the unrighteous. What we have, however, is a glimpse of the principle of substitutionary suffering, which comes to its fullest flower in the Old Testament in the figure of the Suffering Servant of Second Isaiah. The significance of this thought, in its expanded form, for the concept of the remnant will be seen below (p. 134).

(b) The Jacob-Esau Narratives

The Yahwist gives us a very clear example of the remnant in his account of the preparation of Jacob for the approach of Esau.¹ Fearing that his brother would attack him,² Jacob divided his camp (וַיִּבְרָא) into two, so that if Esau destroyed the one camp, the other camp which was left (וַיִּשְׁלַח) would be for an escaping ($\text{וַיִּפְּצוּ$).³ The story is aetiological, being based upon the place name וַיִּבְרָא , and is paralleled in E by a story based on the etymology of this name.⁴ E derives וַיִּבְרָא from the word "gift" (וַיִּבְרָא), and describes the presents sent to Esau to win his favour. In the J story the keynote is the danger of annihilation which faces Jacob and his party. With his usual acumen, Jacob devises a scheme to avoid total destruction, and thus to enable his family to continue to exist. With the account of Jacob's prayer,⁵ however, the Yahwist shows

¹Gen. 32:4(ET 3)- 14a(ET 13a). ²Cf. Gen. 27:41.

³Gen. 32:9 (ET 8).

⁴Gen. 32:14b (ET 13b)- 22(ET 21). Cf. Noth, Überlieferungsgeschichte, p. 240, and von Rad, Erste Moses, Pt. 3, Genesis Kapitel 25:19-50:26, ATD IV, p. 276 ff.

⁵Von Rad sees this prayer as the high point of the whole scene (ibid., p. 277).

us that for Jacob the hope of survival rested ultimately upon God.

But thou didst say, 'I will do you good, and make your descendants as the sand of the sea, which cannot be numbered for multitude.'¹

In this prayer we see the Yahwist associating the concept of election with the preservation of a remnant. God's promises to the fathers meant that Jacob and his family could not be cut off without eliminating the possibility of fulfilment. That this petition is based upon God's grace, and not upon any claim which Jacob had on God's favour may be seen in the fact that Jacob pleaded his own unworthiness.

I am not worthy of the least of all the steadfast love and all the faithfulness which thou hast shown to thy servant.²

CONCLUSION: THE REMNANT CONCEPT IN THE YAHWIST

Running throughout the Yahwistic primitive and patriarchal narratives is the salvation motif. The Yahwist's faith in the permanence of God's purpose of salvation for mankind³ is reflected in the concept of the remnant, through which God's promise is maintained despite catastrophe. That the remnant concept has universal elements in J is most clearly

¹Gen. 32:13 (ET 12).

²Gen. 32:11 (ET 10).

³Cf. A. Weiser, Einleitung in das Alte Testament (2nd ed., Göttingen, 1949), p. 81, who says that J conceives God's actions as "die Durchführung des göttlichen Heilsplans allen menschlichen Hemmungen, Befürchtungen und Hoffnungen zum Trotz."

seen in his primitive history, in the narratives of the Flood and the Call of Abraham. In the patriarchal history the Yahwist follows his sources very closely, and so we do not find as much of his own theological reflection. In the primitive history, however, he has given us insights which he intends should form the basis of the interpretation of his following history. Just because there is no mention of the universal purpose of the remnant in the Jacob-Esau story, we need not infer that the Yahwist excluded all save a purely nationalistic hope.¹ For all its nearness to the popular traditions, the J document breathes a prophetic spirit, breaking beyond all national boundaries in the earnestness with which it conceives God's power, and His demand for man's obedience.²

B. THE ELOHIST

The Joseph Story

In the story of Joseph's disclosure of himself to his brothers, E is very explicit in showing that God's hand and

¹Cf. Noth, Überlieferungsgeschichte, p. 258, "Es genügte ihm, im Eingang eindeutig gesagt zu haben, wie er alles Weitere verstanden wissen wollte."

²Cf. Weiser, Einleitung², p. 8⁸. "Denn dies Werk ist im Grunde mit dem Ernst seiner theozentrischen Geschichtsauffassung und -darstellung ein Zeugnis von der lebendigen Gottesmacht, das soweit wir sehen können, zum erstenmal in der alttestamentlichen Literature jene weiten und tiefen Perspektiven eröffnet, in denen der Geist der Propheten weitergedacht hat. Von der theozentrischen heilsgeschichtlichen Denkweise des Yahwieglaubens her gewinnt die jahwistische Geschichtsbeurteilung den weitgespannten universalen Rahmen, in den sie das Gesamtgeschehen zwischen Schöpfung und Eschatologie hineingestellt."

purpose have been in the adventures of the hero. God takes even man's waywardness into His purpose, bringing good out of man's evil intention.

God sent me before you to preserve for you a remnant (סְרַבְיָם) on earth, and to save you alive for a great escaping (מִפְּנֵי הַמָּוֶת).¹

Procksch believes that סְרַבְיָם here means "descendants," as in 2 Sam. 14:7, and not "remnant," since all the members of the family have been preserved.² Müller points out, however, that the remnant terminology is appropriate, since the tribe in narrowly escaping destruction is like the remnant as the bearer of hopes for the future existence.³ The connection here between remnant and posterity is very close, but the conjunction of מִפְּנֵי הַמָּוֶת with סְרַבְיָם emphasizes the escape from danger of destruction. Through God's action a remnant has been saved to be the heir of His promises to the patriarchs.

That E did not regard the promise to Israel as binding God to secure Israel's future is to be seen in E's descriptions of Israel's defections in the wilderness wanderings. Israel's disobedience brought about the possibility

¹Gen. 45:7. For this translation see S.R. Driver, The Book of Genesis (6th ed.; London, 1907), p. 362, n.7.

²Procksch, Genesis, p. 415. He claims that there is nothing here of the prophetic notion of a pious remnant saved from judgment. "Die theologische Bedeutung des aus dem Gericht geretteten frommen Restes, die bei den Schriftpropheten seit Amos (5,15) eine so grosse Rolle spielt, fehlt dem Begriffe an unserer Stelle noch."

³Müller, Rest, p. 46.

of God rejecting her.¹ The remnant is a creation of God,² but Israel must respond to God's creative activity of salvation, or else Israel cannot be that remnant.³ Had it not been for Moses' perfect obedience to God, Israel would have been destroyed through her denial of Yahweh and her worship of the golden calf.⁴ The E writings present the radical demands of God upon His people, and emphasize the need for faith.⁵

C. ELIJAH

The frequency of the remnant motif in the Elijah and Elisha stories has been pointed out by Müller.⁶ He notes the importance of the concept politically in Jehu's struggle against the Baal cult, and also the heightening of its importance through its association with the clash of hetero-

¹A. Bentzen, Introduction to the Old Testament (2 ed.; Copenhagen, 1952), II, p. 51.

²Herrntrich, TWNT IV, 207.

³Contrast Müller, Rest, p. 46 (who includes Gen. 45:7 in his treatment of the remnant in the Yahwist writings). He concludes that this passage, like the story of the meeting of Jacob and Esau, demonstrates that the Yahwist believes that "Gott in seinen Verheissungen Israel von den Anfängen her einen solchen Existenzträger für alle Zeiten garantiert hat."

⁴Ex. 32:11-14. Cf. J. Rylaarsdam, I B, I, pp. 835, 1063.

⁵Cf. B. Balscheit, "Alter und aufkommen des Monotheismus in der Israelitischen Religion." BZAW, 69(1938), pp. 95-101.

⁶Müller, Rest, p. 46 ff., who finds this motif in 1 Ki. 18:22, 40, 19:3, 4, 14, 17, 18; 2 Ki. 9:15, 10:11, 14, 17, 19, 21, 24, 25, 28.

geneous cults. We thus have a concept of a remnant closely connected with Israel's political experiences and cultic worship. We may well ask, then, to what extent the contest on Mount Carmel and the conversation of Elijah with God on Mount Horeb are concerned with the purely political aspects of Israel's life. Was the fight against Baal worship on Mount Carmel simply a protest against the influence of foreign nations upon the Israelite culture? Was this simply a way of expressing the national self-consciousness of Israel, i.e. Melkart for Phoenicia, but Yahweh for Israel?

Certainly there is much that outwardly ^{beträchtlich} bespeaks mere nationalism. Elijah was antagonistic to Ahab's foreign wife Jezebel, through whom many of the ancient tribal bonds of brotherhood had been laid aside.¹ The syncretistic policy of David and Solomon had been revived in Omri and Ahab, much to the dismay of the Rechabites, who wished to revive the original Israelite culture. Although Ahab remained officially a Yahweh worshipper,² he introduced the Baal cult to exist alongside Yahweh worship.³ The contest on Carmel probably received its impetus from the revising of the border between Phoenicia and Israel, bringing the Carmel promontory back into the Israelite Kingdom.⁴ The contest could then be of national

¹Cf. Naboth's ancestral claim to his vineyard, 1 Ki.21:1 ff.

²Cf. his children's names, Ahaziah, Jehoram, Athaliah.

³1 Ki. 16:31 ff.

⁴Cf. Albrecht Alt, "Das Gottesurteil auf dem Karmel," Festschrift George Beer (Stuttgart, 1935), p. 12 ff.

importance as signifying that Yahweh and His land go together. The exclusiveness which the ceremony demonstrated would lie in the principle that a national god should be honoured in his own country. The reference to Elijah anointing Hazael as King of Syria, and Jehu as King of Israel,¹ ties him in with the prophetic movement of revolution aiming to overthrow the dynasty of Ahab. That this was ostensibly to purify the cult does not free it from the charge of being political opportunism.

We cannot ignore the tradition that Elijah was a man of action, a colourful political figure, who entered into the concrete problems of the government of his country. The weight of evidence points to this fact, however, that the basis of his actions was predominantly religious. The contest on Carmel is not simply against the Phoenician Baal Melkart, but also against Baal Carmel, and the whole Canaanitish fertility cult which found a rallying point in that sacred shrine. Yahweh's exclusiveness, which Elijah was championing had more than a national basis. Elijah saw that Yahweh by His very nature could not come to terms with the Baalim. These were two irreconcilables and they each demanded the extermination of the other.² There were two

¹1 Ki. 19:15,16.

²Cf. Johannes Hehn, Die biblische und die babylonische Gottesidee (Leipzig, 1913), p. 369. "Was hat das lodernde Feuer in seiner Brust, das ihn zum Vernichtungskampfe gegen Ba'al treibt, entzündet, wenn nicht die Überzeugung, dass hier die Entscheidung zwischen zwei unversöhnlichen Weltanschauungen falle?"

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world-views in conflict, the one based upon Yahweh, who was no nature-god, but a God who had entered into the historical experiences of a particular people, the other based upon the Baal system of harmonious integration with nature. The Baal cult depended for its efficacy upon magical rites; the Yahweh cult, however, was founded upon the covenant between God and his people.¹ This does not mean that we should posit a new realisation of monotheism by Elijah,² but we should recognize that, in his vigorous defence of Yahweh's exclusiveness, Elijah's concept of God bears the seed of what was to come to full flower in the monotheism of Second Isaiah.

The stories gathered together in 1 Ki. 17-19 centre around the colourful figure who bursts suddenly into the Court of Ahab.³ Brilliant though his entry is, his exit in fear to the wilderness before the threat of the foreign Queen casts a shadow of gloom over the hopes he had aroused. What was to be the future of Yahweh and His people when such an unscrupulous woman as Jezebel could wield such power?

It is not surprising, then, that the story of his visit to Horeb depicts him as being truly left alone.

The people of Israel have forsaken thy covenant,
thrown down thy altars, and slain thy prophets with

¹1 Ki. 18:36; 19:10, 14.

²Cf. Müller, Reste, p. 48.

³These Elijah narratives are fairly early, dating from ca., 800 B.C. Cf. T. H. Robinson, A History of Israel (Oxford, 1932) I, 302, and J. A. Montgomery, "Kings," ICC (Edinburgh, 1952), p. 40.

the sword; and I, even I only am left ^{וְאֶנִּי יָחִיד}); and they seek my life
 to take it away.¹

Everything that is truly Israelitish, everything that maintains the old covenant relationship with Yahweh, is depicted as concentrated into the fate of this one man.² The whole future of Israel depends upon him. He is the true remnant of all that was meant by the word Israel.

There is, however, a further word of God to Elijah assuring him that he was not really alone, that God had preserved seven thousand as a faithful community in Israel.³ The preface to this divine promise places a problem before us, in recording God's command to Elijah to anoint Hazael as King of Syria, and Jehu as King of Israel.⁴ These references are unhistorical, since the connection with Hazael and Jehu is part of the Elisha series of legends.⁵ What has probably happened is a transfer of the commission from the Elisha-legends to Elijah.⁶ When we omit these incongruous references between Hazael and Jehu, we have a proper connection

¹1 Ki. 19:10.

²Cf. R.B.Y. Scott, The Relevance of the Prophets (New York, 1947), pp. 67 ff., 71, and J. Pedersen, Israel, III-IV, 518, "Legend raises him to be the man in whom all fidelity to Yahweh is concentrated." Montgomery, Kings, p. 313, sees parallels in this story to that of Moses in Exodus 19, although he would contrast the nature theophany of Ex. 19:18 ff. with the spiritual aspect of Elijah's theophany on Mount Horeb.

³1 Ki. 19:18.

⁴1 Ki. 19:15, 16.

⁵2 Ki. 8:7 ff.

⁶Cf. Montgomery, Kings, p. 315, "In Jewish tradition Elijah is the one perfect man, to whom forsooth all credit should be given."

between verses 15 and 19;

Go, return on your way, - - - and anoint Elisha
- - - to be prophet in your place. - - - Yet I
will leave seven thousand in Israel, all the
knees that have not bowed to Baal, and every
mouth that has not kissed him.¹ So he departed
from there and found Elisha.

What significance can be attached to the number seven thousand in 1 Ki. 19:18 we do not know.¹ Montgomery suggests that it may have been an authentic report of some census taken of the Zealots.² T. W. Manson describes it as a round number representing the number of the faithful minority who will be spared in judgment.³ What is significant is the divine promise to spare a small group of the faithful Yahweh worshippers. The reference to the judgment of those who have kissed Baal brings to mind the outburst of Hosea against the sin of Israel in worshipping Baal. "Men kiss calves!"⁴ What is at stake is not simply the cultic ritual of Yahwism, but all the ethical connotations springing from the law and the covenant. It is in the recognition of Yahweh as Lord, making ethical demands upon His people, that the life of Israel is to be maintained. It is true that the

¹ J.C. Campbell in "God's People and the Remnant," SJT, III (1950), p. 81, minimizes the emphasis upon judgment in this and other remnant passages, claiming that in this passage the number seven thousand is a symbol for the whole of Israel. He refers to Kirchliche Dogmatik, II/2, pp. 297-303, where Barth tries to find support for this view in 1 Ki. 20:15, "He mustered all the people of Israel, seven thousand." This cryptic statement can hardly be made to support such an interpretation. The message of God to Elijah envisages the destruction of the major portion of Israel.

² Montgomery, Kings, p. 315.

³ Manson, Teachings of Jesus, p. 175.

⁴ Hos. 13:2

implications of response to Yahweh are not clearly worked out here, but they are implicit in the analogies of this passage ^{and} to the picture of Moses as the law-giver.

Quite early, then, in the history of Israel, it became evident to men of faith that God intended to maintain the purposes of His election, even though the nation at large forsook its obligations to Him. Be it one person or seven thousand God would preserve a faithful minority through whom His promises would be fulfilled.¹

D. THE REMNANT IN AMOS

The Shepherd from Tekoa has come down in history as the Prophet of doom. Like a battering-ram of God's judgment, his oracles bring all the fortresses of false security crashing to the ground. Israel's pride in her privilege as God's Chosen People has blinded her to the fact that her election bears with it a great responsibility. Her delight in cultic ritual for its own sake has made her unable to see the ethical nature of the God with whom she is supposed to commune. The Day of the Lord, which she so blandly supposes will be a day of victory over all her enemies, will be a day of darkness and judgment to the very Chosen People.²

In the light of this predominance of doom, the few

¹Cr. O. Procksch, Theologie des Alten Testaments (Gütersloh, 1950), p. 580.

²Amos 5:18-20.

passages where there is any hint of survival after the judgment become naturally suspect. Some scholars claim that there is no hope at all in Amos, and that where there is mention of a few survivors, there is no positive significance to be attached to this fact. We should regard such places rather as a means of heightening the threat of destruction.¹ Some say that Amos' prophetic vision is bi-focal. On the one hand he looks at North Israel's sin with the scathing judgment which presages nothing but the end of all things, but, on the other hand, his patriotism towards his own land, Judah, colours his view of her future.² Thus we find the interpretation that "seek the Lord"³ means to come to Jerusalem to worship.⁴ Those at ease, whom the Prophet condemns, are those who are at ease against Zion.⁵ Another view is that Amos accommodates his high ethical pronouncements to the

¹Allen, Prophet and Nation, p. 32; O. Baab, Theology of the Old Testament (Nashville, 1949), p. 192 f.; R.S. Cripps, The Book of Amos (London, 1949), pp. 190f., 268, 297, 319 f.; Mowinkel, Ps. St. II, pp. 266 f., 277.

²S.B. Frost, O.T. Apocalyptic (London, 1952), p. 46; Snaith, "Servant of the Lord in Second Isaiah," SOTP, p. 188; V. Maag, Text, Wortschatz, und Begriffswelt des Buches Amos (Leiden, 1951), pp. 250 f.; H. Kraus, "Der Gerichtsprophet Amos, ein Vorläufer des Deuteronomisten," ZAW NF. 9 (1932), pp. 221-239. Criticism of Kraus's view that Amos was a Judaeo-nationalist has been expressed by G.A. Danell, Studies in the Name Israel (Uppsala, 1946), p. 112, n. 9; and E. Würthwein, "Amos-Studien" ZAW 62 (1949/50), 33.

³Amos 5:6.

⁴Kraus, "Der Gerichtsprophet Amos," ZAW NF. 9 (1932) p. 238 f.

⁵Amos 6:1. L. Rost, in Israel bei den Propheten, BWANT, 4:19 (Stuttgart, 1937), p. 15, interprets the preposition עַל in עַל־יְהוָה as adversative

popular expectation of salvation on the Day of Yahweh.¹

With such a variety of approaches to this prophecy in mind, we are well advised to seek to interpret Amos according to the picture which he has given us of himself. He claims to stand in the succession of the prophetic movement, and shows sympathy for the Nazirites.² He opposes vigorously those encroachments of the rights of the individual within the ancient Israelite bond of brotherhood. Oppression of the poor and needy, scorn for justice, and greed for gain resulting in deceitful commercial practices were all anathema to him.³ He is not concerned with some vague ethical world order. His indictments are concrete, being based upon the laws and demands of the old Yahweh amphistony.⁴ He stands in the succession of Moses and Elijah, and therefore has the concern of God's People at heart, rather than any purely nationalistic movement. His use of the term "Israel" has been the subject of much discussion.⁵ It is sufficient here to say

¹Gressmann, Ursprung, p. 236.

²Amos 2:11,12, 7:14,15. Cf. H.H. Rowley, "Was Amos a Nabi?" Festschrift Otto Eissfeldt (Halle an der Saale, 1947), pp. 191-198.

³Amos 2:6,7, 5:10-12, 6:4-7, 8:4-6.

⁴Cf. Würthwein, "Amos-Studien," ZAW 62(1949/50), pp. 43-51.

⁵Cf. Danell, Studies, pp. 110-136; Rost, Israel, pp. 7-20; N. Micklem, Prophecy and Eschatology (London, 1926), p. 106; W.R. Harper, "Amos and Hosea," ICC (Edinburgh, 1905), p. 4, all of whom conclude that Amos used "Israel" to designate only the Northern Kingdom. That the term was used generally to include both the Northern and Southern Kingdoms is the opinion of M. Battenwieser, The Prophets of Israel (New

that the wider use of the term "Israel" suits the general content of Amos in most cases. The Day of Yahweh is to be a day of darkness for the whole covenant people, not just the Northern Kingdom. His viewpoint is not a narrowly parochial one.¹ His concern is for that people created by God's gracious act of redemption in the Exodus from Egypt.² God's choice of this people implies ethical demands which she can ignore only at her peril.³ Israel's life is grounded in the necessity of response to these demands, and in the realisation that the privilege of election bears with it a great responsibility.⁴ Since Israel has fallen away from her pledge, it is the solemn duty of Amos to summon her to meet this God whom she had so largely forgotten. "Prepare to meet Thy God, O Israel."⁵

York, 1914), pp. 225-237; A.C. Welch, The Kings and Prophets of Ancient Israel, ed. N.W. Porteous (London, 1952), p. 112 f.; W.S. McCullough, "Some Suggestions about Amos", JBL LXXII (1953), pp. 248-251; and Cripps, Amos, p. 13.

¹McCullough points out that probably some of Amos' ministry was carried out in Judah, cf. Amos 6:1, "Some Suggestions about Amos", JBL LXXII (1953), p. 249.

²Amos 3:1,2.

³Muller has gathered evidence to show how Amos had to contend against the popular view of the Day of Yahweh as a Day of Salvation for Israel, Rest, pp. 49-53.

⁴Cf. I. Seierstadt, Die Offenbarungserlebnisse der Propheten Amos, Isaiah, Jeremia (Oslo, 1946), p. 89, who observes that the ethical demand of election went back into the Mosaic times (Gen. 15:6, 22:1 ff., 35:2). The thought that Yahweh can't escape His people because He would then be without worshippers is far from Amos. Cf. also Dahl, Das Volk Gottes, pp. 30-32.

⁵Amos 4:12. Cf., Amos 5:17, 6:14.

The scorn which Amos heaps upon those whose self-confidence blinds them to the reality of the imminent judgment is most clearly seen by the way in which he likens the remnant to the paltry scraps of a sheep rescued from the mouth of a lion.

As the shepherd rescues from the mouth of the lion two legs, or a piece of an ear, so shall the people of Israel . . . be rescued.¹

The emphasis here is upon the meaninglessness of the remnant. The wretched remains of the sheep taken from the lion's mouth serve only identification purposes.² The word "rescue" is used ironically. Amos is lashing out with absolute assurance against the popular salvation hope which pictured the coming catastrophe as swallowing up all but Israel.³ Empirical Israel is doomed to destruction. So, in a dirge, Amos proclaims;

Fallen, no more to rise
is the virgin Israel.⁴

How are we to reconcile such a pessimistic outlook with the rather more hopeful passages of Amos 5:4f, 14f.? Many scholars would interpret the note of hope ironically, or

¹Amos 3:12 a. The phrase "who dwell in Samaria" was probably added later as a reflection of the catastrophe that overcame Samaria.

²Cf. Gen. 31:39, Ex. 22:12 (ET 13), 1 Sam. 17:34 ff. Cf. also T. J. Meek, (translator), "The Code of Hammurabi (§ 266)," Near Eastern Texts, p. 177.

³A. Weiser, "Das Buch der zwölf Kleinen Propheten, I," ATD, 24 (Göttingen, 1949), p. 127; Müller, Rest, p. 50; T. H. Robinson, "Die zwölf Kleinen Propheten," HAT 14 (Tübingen, 1938), p. 84.

⁴Amos 5:2. The following verse emphasises once more the magnitude of the disaster. Cf. also 2:14,15, 6:9, 8:2,3,9:1-4,8abc.

accept it as positive, but relegate it to a later age.¹ While the acceptance of these verses presents a paradox regarding our understanding of the ministry of Amos, is it not possible that the paradox is not something external to the prophet, but instead is something which lies at the heart of his understanding of God? Amos cannot be bound by any system of logic. He has been called to proclaim doom upon empirical Israel because of her repudiation of her covenant relationship to God. He is, however, no herald of an impersonal catastrophe which is to overtake his nation. God Himself is coming to overthrow everything that sets itself up against His will.² It is too late for the nation to be saved, but if individuals throw themselves upon His grace, it may be that God will spare them.

Seek good, and not evil,
that you may live;
and so the Lord, the God of hosts
will be with you,
as you have said.
Hate evil, and love good,
and establish justice in the gate;
it may be that the Lord, the God of hosts,
will be gracious to the remnant of Joseph.³

¹Cf. Battenwieser, Prophets of Israel, pp. 213-221; Kraus, "Der Gerichtsprophet Amos," ZAW, NF 9(1932), p. 229 f.; Cripps, Amos, pp. 190 f.; A. Weiser, "Die Prophetie des Amos," BZAW, 53 (Giessen, 1929), pp. 183-194.

²Amos 4:12, 5:17, 6:14.

³Amos 5:14, 15.

Amos is here preaching to decision.¹ Hating evil, loving good, and establishing social justice are not acts which obligate God to show favour towards His people, (see the force of the וְיָהוָה in vs. 15),² but they open up the way for a creative work of God in forming a new relationship with those who seek Him. Amos cannot visualize a final end of God's dealings with men. The kind of God who chose Israel in free grace has something else in store beyond the Day of Judgment. "To seek God and live" means to come into an immediate relationship to God in faith.³ The future lies in obedience to God's command in response to His will. In the forthcoming judgment Amos sees God's outstretched arm.

Wenn es von dem Rest Josephs redet, dessen sich
Jahwe vielleicht erbarmen wird, dann lässt es den
schweren Ernst göttlichen Gerichts unvermindet

¹M. Buber, Prophetic Faith (New York, 1949), p. 103, where he says "The true prophet does not announce an immutable decree. He speaks into the power of decision lying in the moment, and in such a way that his message of disaster just touches this power." Bentzen classifies this passage as a speech of admonition, aimed to awaken the people to conversion in order to avoid the impending doom. Introduction, I, p. 200. Cf. also Danell, Studies, pp. 120 ff; and Th.O. Vriksen, "Prophecy and Eschatology," Supplements to Vetus Testamentum, Vol. I (1953), pp. 204-206.

²Cf. Seierstadt, Die Offenbarungserlebnisse, p. 88. He observes that the "perhaps" of Amos 5:14 leaves the decision of the salvation of a remnant entirely up to God. So also Müller, Rest, p. 53.

³Cf. Weiser, Der zwölf Kleinen Propheten,¹² ATD, 24, p. 138. Leben heisst Gott suchen, heisst Gemeinschaft mit ihm haben. . . . Gott allein steht im Mittelpunkt dieser Denkweise, er ist Grund und Ziel alles Daseins; die Gemeinschaft mit ihm ist der Sinn des Lebens und die einzige Möglichkeit der Existenz (vgl. Jes. 7:9)."

stehen und sieht doch selbst in der Katastrophe noch die ausgestreckte Gotteshand, die das Volk allein zum Leben zu führen vermag. Dieses polare Nebeneinander von Gnade und Gericht als zweier Wesenszüge göttlicher Wirklichkeit gibt dem Spruch seine eigenartige Prägung und weitgreifende Bedeutung.¹

Certainly Amos is so completely given over to the task at hand, the task of proclaiming doom, that he has little room for anything else.² We do him less than justice, however, to ignore this element of hope when it does appear.

Most scholars agree that the epilogue³ has been added at a later date to the prophetic oracles.⁴ A substantial number, however, argue that at least parts of this section stem from Amos.⁵ Certainly the abrupt change in outlook introduced in Amos 9:8d suggests that it is a qualification from a later time. Procksch has found in Amos 9:9,10 a picture of the separation of wheat from chaff and thus an analogy to the remnant.⁶ Cripps, on the other hand, has given evidence that this passage implies only doom for Israel.⁷ He

¹Ibid., p. 141.

²Cf. Vriezen, Prophecy and Eschatology, p. 205, where he writes "He was a man with only one string to his bow, and his shot went home!"

³Amos 9:8d-15.

⁴Buttenwieser, Prophets of Israel, p. 212; Mowinkel, Ps. St. II, p. 266; Weiser, Amos BZAW, 53, pp. 52-57, 282-290; Cripps, Amos, pp. 67-77.

⁵Sellin, Der Alttestamentische Prophetismus, pp. 118, 149, 151; Procksch, T.A.T., pp. 175, 581; Buber, Prophetic Faith, p. 108; Maag Amos, pp. 247 f; Vriezen, Prophecy and Eschatology, p. 205.

⁶Procksch, T.A.T., pp. 175, 581.

⁷Cripps, Amos, pp. 68, n.5, 265-270.

acknowledges the possibility that it may be from Amos. After examining the arguments regarding the authorship of the last two sections,¹ he concludes that they must come from a later period.² When we consider these sections in the light of elements of hope in the Prophet's oracles, we see that they express an aspect of Amos's teaching which needed expansion and which we can detect only in such passages as 5:4,14,15.³

Brief tho' Amos's encounter with the remnant concept may be, still he has delineated features of that hope for the future which played an increasingly important part in his successors. He associated the concept of the remnant with "to live."⁴ The true religious life is one lived by faith

¹Amos 9:11,12 and 13-15.

²Ibid., pp. 67-77.

³Cf. McCullough, "Some Suggestions about Amos," JBL LXXII (1953), p. 254, where he concludes, "The later addition to the end of the book (9:8d-15) is therefore not as incongruous as it appears at first glance. While these closing verses reflect conditions that did not exist, as far as we know, during Amos's ministry, in their conviction that Yahweh's ultimate purpose for Israel is good, they are in harmony with the prophet's basic assumptions and they form an appropriate conclusion to his oracles." Cf. also G.R. Conning, The Place of Prophetic Intercession in Old Testament Religion, Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation (New College, Edinburgh), 1934, p. 72. "When we ask the question whether Amos, as we know him, could have conceived of the state of things portrayed in the last verses of his book, we can, recalling his intercessions, answer that he had a spiritual flexibility which does not elsewhere appear in the messages which he delivered at Bethel. His mind which was not closed to the acceptance of a message of certain judgment, was open to a message of future happiness. Like Jeremiah, another intercessor, Amos could have been the prophet of a day of restoration beyond the day of judgment."

⁴Amos 5:14,15.

in utter dependence upon God, a God who is not bound to His people, a God who requires their ethical response. We are not sure that the Prophet Isaiah was acquainted with the works of Amos. It is probable, however, that the work of the Shepherd from Tekoa made a valuable contribution to Isaiah's concept of faith.

Chapter IV

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CONCEPT OF THE REMNANT FROM ISALAH TO JEREMIAH

A. THE REMNANT IN ISALAH

Like his predecessor Amos, the Prophet Isalah came before his people with the pronouncement of God's judgment upon them for their sin.¹ It was God Himself who was bringing about the destruction of the nation. Assyria was merely His agent, fulfilling His purpose, and liable to receive judgment herself upon overstepping the bounds of her divine commission.² Like Amos, Isalah summoned his people to prepare to meet God and not some merely human enemy.

Far more than Amos, however, Isalah held out hope for the future.³ Far more clearly than any who had gone before him, Isalah saw that God was working out His purpose in history.⁴

Some scholars deny this element of hope in Isalah,

¹Isa. 2:10-4:1; 5; 6:11-13; 8:5-15, 21-22; 9:7(ET 8)-10:4, 28-34; 17:1-6, 10-14; 22:1-21; 28:1-4, 7-22; 30:1-17.

²Isa. 10:5 ff.

³Isa. 7:3, "A remnant shall return"; 10:20 f.; 1:26, 27.

⁴Isa. 28:23-29.

attributing it to a scheme imposed by his followers upon his own teachings.¹ They say that Isaiah was strictly a prophet of woe.

Now there can be no doubt that the Book of Isaiah I represents more than the original sayings of the Prophet. These thirty-nine chapters represent a living witness to the work of Isaiah as it blossomed forth in the experiences of the circle of disciples.² The weight which we attach to the work of the Prophet will therefore be determined largely by our understanding of the manner in which the original message has been transmitted. What influence has this group of disciples had upon the final form of the prophet's utterances? Is the pattern of promises following upon threats merely a psychological device, a natural inclination to believe that somehow it will all work out for weal in the end?³ Have the disciples deepened Isaiah's thought, or transformed it into something antithetic to the original conviction?⁴ Such ques-

¹See K. Fullerton, "Viewpoints in the discussion of Isaiah's hopes for the future," JBL, XLI (1923), p. 1 ff. He contrasts two viewpoints on the four features of the outlook of Isaiah - the Day of the Lord, the Remnant, the Messiah and Zion.

²Cf. Bentzen, Introduction, II, p. 101 f.

³Mowinckel, Prophecy and Tradition, p. 51, sees a psychological principle in the arrangement of threats followed by promises in Isa. 1:2-31; 6:1-9:6; 9:7-12:6; 28-32. Mowinckel, however, does acknowledge that Isaiah proclaimed a hope for the future; cf. He That Cometh, p. 134 f. Cf. also Bentzen, Introduction, II, p. 108; and Fullerton, "Viewpoints," JBL, XLI (1922), p. 70.

⁴So H. Birkeland, Zum hebräischen Traditionswesen: die Komposition der prophetischen Bücher des Alten Testaments (Oslo,

tions lead us to a further consideration. Should we not grant the possibility that the disciples were struggling with concepts in the prophet's declarations which would permit no apparently logical, consistent systematisation? They were, in a very real sense, in apostolic succession to the experience of Isaiah's vision, where there was revealed the God who was, at the same time, both judging and gracious.¹ They were forced to consider how God could destroy Israel, and yet preserve a people through whom He could fulfil His purpose of redemption for the world.

The issues involved in any study of the element of hope in Isaiah are to be seen in the account of the Prophet's call. The basis of Isaiah's view of the Temple, of Zion, and of the relationship of the judgment of God to the future of Israel, is to be seen in this vision in chapter six. In it he saw the Holy One of Israel, became conscious of his own sinfulness, and of the fact that he dwelt amongst a sinful people. Also he experienced cleansing and restoration through God's grace. In this vision the concept of the Remnant is implicit. The prophet, who was brought back from the death of judgment through God's grace, is himself a type of the Rem-

1938), p. 15, "Auf dem Restgedanken Jesaias fuszend wurde in ihren Kreisen die ganze gerichtsprophetischen Predigt in nationalkultische Richtung umgebogen."

¹Isa. 6

nant.¹ Having experienced reconciliation and renewal, he could never proclaim a message of mere doom.

Attempts have been made to find a period at the beginning of Isaiah's ministry when he proclaimed only judgment upon his people.² Usually these attempts are associated with a view of chapter six which sees in this description of Isaiah's call a prediction of only disaster. It is common to regard 6:13 c, "the holy seed is its stump" as absent from the Septuagint and incongruous here.³ Budde, however, has shown that the Septuagint translation can be explained best by homoteleuton.⁴ This indicates that 6:13 c was present in the

¹V. Herntrich, "Der Prophet Jesaja, Kap. 1-12," ATD, 17 (Göttingen, 1950), p. 199. Cf. A.C. Welch, Kings and Prophets, p. 202, "Isaiah could not keep in the background the ultimate end for which chastisement is only the preparation, for the simple reason that he himself had received so much more." Cf. also W.A.L. Elmslie, How Came Our Faith (Cambridge, 1950), p. 293 f.

²Müller, Rest, pp. 54-61; J. Fichtner, "Yahwes Plan in der Botschaft der Jesaja," ZAW, 63(1951), Heft 1/2, p. 29, who follows Müller's claim that Isaiah, through fear of confirming the false hope of the people, hesitated at first to proclaim hope.

³De Vaux, Reste, p. 530; Müller, Rest, p. 55; G.B. Gray, "The Book of Isaiah I - XXVII," ICO (Edinburgh, 1912), p. 111; O. Procksch, "Jesaja I," KAT (Leipzig, 1930), pp. 52, 59, 60; R.B.Y. Scott, IB, 5 (New York, 1956), p. 212 f.; Herntrich, Jesaja, p. 110, who says that the judgment Isaiah proclaimed meant a complete break with the past.

⁴K. Budde, Jesaja's Erleben (Gotha, 1927), pp. 24 ff; and "Über die Schranken die Jesaja's prophetischer Botschaft zu setzen sind," ZAW, XLI (1923), pp. 167 ff. Budde shows how the Greek $\epsilon\kappa\ \tau\eta\varsigma\ \theta\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\eta\varsigma$ does not render $\square\gamma\ \gamma\iota\gamma\alpha\varsigma$, the fifth and fourth words from the end, but $\gamma\iota\gamma\alpha\varsigma$, the last word of the verse. The translator's eye skipped over $\psi\tau\tau\ \gamma\gamma\gamma\ \square\gamma\ \gamma\iota\gamma\alpha\varsigma$. The $\epsilon\kappa$ of the Septuagint can be explained easily by haplography, reading originally $\gamma\iota\gamma\alpha\varsigma\gamma\iota\gamma\alpha\varsigma$ which gives better sense, i.e. "out of its stump is the holy seed."

Hebrew text at least by the time of the Septuagint translation. Several scholars follow Budde in retaining these three words of the Hebrew, and in attributing them to Isaiah himself.¹ That the Septuagint translator of this passage was not working on the principle of there being only doom in the vision of the call is evident from the translation of verse 12, where the doctrine of the Remnant is read into the Hebrew.² Budde seeks to find in 6:13a a meaning which corresponds to the remnant concept implicit in 6:13 c. He interprets רָצַח as "to put to pasture," instead of "to be devastated," comparing the use here with that in Isa. 5:5. The tenth which remains is not to be destroyed, but is to revert to nomadic conditions. The people are to find divine favour in this primitive pastoral relationship.³ There is much to be said for this

¹ Seierstadt, Offenbarungserlebnisse, pp. 108 ff.; Welch, Kings and Prophets, p. 205 f.; I. Engnell, The Call of Isaiah (Uppsala, 1949), p. 14 f.; Rowley, Election, p. 73, note 4; J. Ziegler, "Untersuchungen zur Septuaginta des Buches Isaias," AA XII Band, 3 Heft (Münster, 1934), p. 48. Ziegler seems to reckon with the possibility that the Greek translator omitted these words because he did not understand them.

² $\text{καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα κηρυχέει ὁ θεὸς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ οἱ καταλείψοντες πλῆθους θήσονται ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.}$
Cf. Engnell, Call of Isaiah, p. 14.

³ Budde, Jesaja's Erleben, pp. 26-28. Cf. also Buber Prophetic Faith, p. 133, "When the people is decimated and the land again given over to pasturage, will take place what sometimes happens when a tree is felled; a stump is left in the ground, and after a while a branch comes out of the stump and from it springs a new tree." Buber points out that this tenth may reflect the influence of the Prophet Amos (see Amos 5:3); Engnell interprets the tenth as Judah, comparing 1 Sam. 11:8; 2 Sam. 19:44; 1 Kings 11:31 ff. It is unlikely, however, that at this time Isaiah was thinking on such parochial lines. In this reference, as well as in רָצַח רָצַח of verse 11, he is

interpretation, provided we keep in mind the picture of utter desolation portrayed in verses 11 and 12. God's judgment brings the end of the old order.¹ The return to primitive conditions marks the beginning of a new era, of a new relationship with God. The holy seed has come through death to life. Just as Isaiah himself had experienced a transformation through contact with the burning coal from the altar, so the Remnant has partaken of the $\psi\tau\rho$ of the divine nature.²

Procksch, who maintains that Isaiah believed in the salvation of a remnant from the beginning of his ministry regards verse 13 c as an addition. He is thus forced to say that "nur ein prophetisches Ohr konnte aus der Gerichtsdrohung die Verheissung heraushören, dass noch eine Lebenskraft übrigbleibt."³ Seierstadt, who follows Budde in retaining verse 13 c, points out that it is much more probable that the prophet derives his proclamation of promise from this positive word of Yahweh, than from a deduction on the basis of the

probably considering both the North and the South. Cf. also Seierstadt, Offenbarungserlebnisse, p. 109; Procksch, Jesaja, p. 59; and Pedersen, Israel III-IV, p. 555.

¹R.B.Y. Scott, "Isaiah 1-39," Interpretation VII (1953), p. 456, suggests that Isa. 6:11,12 spring from the historical circumstances in the northern kingdom in 738 B.C., when Tiglath-Pileser attacked Israel, exacting heavy tribute from Meka-
hem. It is probable, however, that Isaiah sees a desolation which is far more serious.

²With this compare Isa. 4:3, and Buber, Prophetic Faith, p. 133, "This is no more the natural propagation and maintenance of the people, it is selection by removing, revival by selection, hallowing by revival. . . . a kind of propagation that conducts the people through death to life."

³Procksch, Jesaja, p. 60.

opposite proclamation of judgment.¹ Isaiah experienced the weal as well as the woe. He knew, therefore, that hardening and judgment were not the last words. His own experience showed him that out of judgment there would come reconciliation, and new life.² We have thus at the very beginning of Isaiah's ministry an experience of the holy, gracious God. The alternation "scheme," which Mowinckel attributes to Isaiah's disciples, can thus spring partially from the prophet himself and find its basic unity in the nature of God as He became known in Israel.

The call of Isaiah provides a good introduction to an examination of the concept of the remnant in chapters 7 and 8.³ The idea of the hardening of the hearts of the people, which we see in 6:10, finds its fulfilment in Ahaz's refusal to have faith; and the promise of new life comes to view in the name of Isaiah's son, She'ar Yashub, in the oracle on Immanuel, and in the group of his disciples.⁴

¹Seierstadt, Offenbarungserlebnisse, p. 109 f.

²Ibid., p. 47, "Wir wissen auch von keiner Zeit im Leben des Jesaja, wo er den Restgedanken so zurückstellte, dass die Idee der Verstockung seine Zukunftschau ausschliesslich beherrschte." Cf. also Engnell, Call of Isaiah, p. 53.

³Some scholars find a relationship also between the "holy seed" of 6:13 and the $\gamma\delta\pi$ of 11:1. Cf. Procksch, T.A.T., p. 192, and Charles Boutflower, The Book of Isaiah 1-XXXIX (London, 1930), p. 33. Engnell finds the ideology of the "tree of life" behind this concept, thereby associating the Remnant with the Davidic Messiah, Call of Isaiah, p. 49.

⁴Isa. 7:3, 14 and 8:16.

The incident recorded in chap. 7:3 of Isaiah taking his son She'ar Yashub to meet Ahaz during the Syro-Ephraimitic war bears all the marks of authenticity. Its significance for the concept of the remnant depends upon the interpretation given to this rather strange personal name. Blank claims that , since the subject comes first, it is the emphatic word, and should be translated by "a mere remnant." Regarding the use of the name in 10:22 a, he says,

When he draws on the abundant sands of the sea for a contrast with the word 'Shear', and thus brings to the foreground the idea of decimation to such an extent that the predicate is almost overlooked, he gives to Shear Yashub its proper significance.¹

This remnant, according to Blank, has no more significance than a few berries left on a tree,² or the fragments of a vessel smashed by the potter.³ This interpretation, however, fails to do justice to the positive significance embodied in the use of the term remnant as the means of the continuing life of the people. Although we must acknowledge that this word order, which is unusual in a personal name, does throw emphasis upon the word שָׁר , we are not thereby entitled to translate it as mere remnant. We should recognise that in this name the dual emphasis of the concept of the Remnant

¹Blank, "Current Misinterpretations of Isaiah's Shear Yashub," JBL, LXVII (1948), No. 3, p. 212.

²Isa. 17:6.

³Isa. 30:14. Cf. E. Heaton, JTS (1952), p. 37, and His Servants the Prophets (London, 1949), p. 98, where he says "pre-exilic prophets associate the actual term remnant with judgment and not with restoration." Cf. also W. Irwin, JBL, LXX (1951) No. 3, who criticizes Snaith's use of the name in his chapter on the Suffering Servant in SOTP. Irwin follows Blank's viewpoint.

is heightened. Certain judgment is envisaged, but out of that judgment a people is to turn to God and be saved.¹ It is difficult to translate this phrase into English. We could use "a Remnant shall return," or "There shall indeed be a Remnant that returns."²

A return from exile is not the question here.³ As in 30:15 the root נָשׁוּב bears the meaning of a return in repentance⁴ It is unnecessary to follow J.M.P. Smith's emendation to read $\text{נָשׁוּבִי נִשְׁבֵּשׁ}$ "a Remnant will abide." He claims that in Isaiah the remnant never has a spiritual significance, but is always that fragment of the nation which has survived destruction.⁵ The absolute form of the concept of the remnant

¹Cf. C.H. Cornill, Prophets of Israel (3d. ed.; Chicago, 1917), p. 58, "Like Amos, Isaiah considers judgment as unavoidable, but like Hosea, he sees in the judgment not the end, but the beginning of true salvation." Cf. also Hertrich, Jesajas, p. 116 f.; E.J. Kissane, The Book of Isaiah (Dublin, 1941-43), I, p. XLIII; and J. Fichtner, "Yahwes Plan in der Botschaft der Jesaja," ZAW, 63(1951), Heft 1/2, p. 32, who says that judgment and salvation are two sides of one and the same plan.

²L. Köhler, " $\text{נָשׁוּבִי נִשְׁבֵּשׁ}$ und der nackte Relativsatz, Syntactica II, V.T., III (1953), No. 1, p. 85. He claims that the usual translation of "a remnant returns" would require in the Hebrew $\text{נִשְׁבֵּשׁ נָשׁוּבִי}$ and nothing else. Here we have no simple assertion, but a relative clause, "Der Rest, der umkehrt." Cf. also M. Noth, "Die israelitische Personennamen," BZWANT, 3 Folge, Heft 10(1928), pp. 9, 20, 28 f, 199, 213.

³N.A. Snaith, "The Language of the Old Testament," IB, I, p. 225, claims that shubh is the word used regularly by the prophets for repent. Cf. also R. de Vaux, Reste, p. 529. Rowley, Election, p. 74, says that in this phrase the word נָשׁוּב could equally well be translated "repent."

⁴Cf. S.H. Eooke, Prophets and Priests (London, 1938), p. 32; and N. Micklem, Prophecy and Eschatology, p. 144 f. Kennett argues that נָשׁוּבִי may mean "return in peace," i.e. "come back alive," with reference to some unrecorded campaign, Composition of the Book of Isaiah ("Schweich Lectures 1909"; London, 1910), p. 11.

⁵J.M.P. Smith, " $\text{נָשׁוּבִי נִשְׁבֵּשׁ}$," ZAW, 34(1914), pp. 219-224.

as used here by Isaiah, points, however, to a meaning which transcends nationalism. As Herntrich has pointed out, this is no matter of mere political expediency.

In dieser Auseinandersetzung geht es dem Propheten um mehr als um den politischen Vordergrund. Es geht um die letzte Deutung irdischer Existenz; denn das 'Bleiben' (7:9) meint nicht nur die Bewahrung der nationalen Existenz für Jerusalem-Juda. Es meint die Überschreitung der Schwelle - in die andere Dimension des Glaubens.¹

Though Judah is doomed to be destroyed, there will be those within the nation, who, turning to God in faith, and finding their security alone in Him, will be spared.² It is not simply a matter of political insight which impells Isaiah to advise Ahaz. He is dealing, not just with Syria and Ephraim, but with peoples and the People of God.³ The religious

¹Herntrich, Jesaja, p. viii. Cf. also the same author in TWNT, IV, pp. 208, 211. That Isaiah is thinking here mainly on nationalistic lines is the contention of G. Hölcher, Die Profeten (Leipzig, 1914), pp. 226 ff., 251; Mowinkel, Ps.St., II, p. 279; Küberle, Sünde und Gnade, p. 154; E.J. Allen, Prophet and Nation, p. 60 ff. Weiser believes that the prophet was thinking of Judah as the remnant in this early stage, Einleitung, p. 150.

²Cf. Müller, Rest, p. 56, "Ein Bestand des Volkes Juda ist angesichts des gegenwärtigen Zustandes nicht zu erwarten; die völlige Vernichtung ist wahrscheinlich. Doch besteht die Möglichkeit, dass angesichts der drohenden Gefahr und auf Grund der Wirksamkeit derer, die zur Einsicht mahnen, eine Wendung bei einzelnen vor sich gehen könnte."

³Herntrich, Jesaja, p. 118, "Weltvölker und Gottesvolk - das ist das Thema, das hier verhandelt wird." Cf. also H. W. Hertzberg, "Werdende Kirche im Alten Testament," Theologische Existenz Heute, N.F. XX (Munich, 1950), p. 12, who points out that the emphasis here is not upon a pitiful remnant of the nation. The concern of Isaiah, which was also the concern of Elijah, Amos, Zephaniah, Jeremiah, is the remnant as the germ-cell of the New, which at the same time is the true Old, the People of God. Contrast with this the viewpoint of J. Morgenstern, Amos, Studies, I (Cincinnati, 1941), p. 425,

aspect of the name 'She'ar Yashub' is increased by the fact that the nation was faced, as never before, with the whole question of its future. "Juda steht vor der Existenzfrage."¹ The issue before the inhabitants of Judah and Jerusalem was not merely academic, but urgently practical. In the child's name, the imminence of disaster is by no means subdued. There is, however, an aspect of promise. "Die Geschichte wird weitergehen!"² Isaiah tries to impress upon Ahaz the fact that if his trust is in the God who rules the world, then the onslaughts of Syria, and Ephraim cannot overturn His purpose. Those who do not place their trust in this purpose of God will be swept away when disaster comes. Verse 9:b of chapter 7 places the decision involved in the absolute dimension of faith.

If you will not believe,
surely you shall not be established.³

who attributes Isaiah's concept of the remnant to a 'latent nationalism' which prevented him from expecting God to raise up an utterly new and strange people.

¹Müller, Rest, p. 57.

²Horntrich, Jesaja, p. 117.

³A. Weiser, "Glauben im Alten Testament," Festschrift - Beer (Stuttgart, 1935), p. 7, "Glaube ist für Jesaja die besondere Existenzform des an Gott gebundenen Menschen." Cf. also Welch, Kings and Prophets, p. 218; and Dahl, Das Volk Gottes, p. 33, "Das Volk als Ganzheit sucht eine menschliche Sicherung der eignen Existenz, nur der Rest verzichtet darauf, vertraut allein auf JHWH, und gibt ihm die ihm gebührende Ehre." Cf. J. Boehmer "Der Glaube und Jesaja," ZAW, 41(1923), p. 85-93. His attempt to date 7:9b and 28:16b. In the third century B.C. is not at all convincing.

Although the following passage¹ does not contain the word for remnant, it is evident that there is a close relationship between the concept of the remnant and the oracle concerning Immanuel.² The sign³ which God gave to Ahaz through the prophet has a polarity of judgment and salvation. It bears a threat to the king and the rest of the sinful nation but a promise to the Remnant.⁴

In Chapter 8 we see a heightening of the note of judgment, but also we find that the promise of a remnant turning to God has begun to take concrete form in the group of Isaiah's disciples.⁶ It is true that the prophet and his followers cannot be equated simply with the rem-

¹Isa. 7:10-17.

²It is unnecessary to suppose, as Procksch does, that the meeting of Isaiah and Ahaz broke off following 7:9b. Procksch, Jesaja, I, p. 118.

³The word סִימָן does not necessarily imply a miracle (which would more often be expressed by מוֹפֵת), but can be an ordinary event foretold. Cf. E. Hammershaimb "The Immanuel Sign," St.Th., III (1951), Fasc. 11, p. 134 ff. Hammershaimb interprets מַלְאֲכֵי as the Queen, and the royal birth as significant in connection with the cultic significance of the continuance of the House of David.

⁴Welch, Kings and Prophets, p. 217. So also Eichrodt, T.A.T., I, p. 260; J. Hempel, Gott und Mensch im Alten Testament (Stuttgart, 1926), p. 27; Budde, in JBL, 52(1933), p. 36 says that the sign was a promise for Judah, a threat to Ahaz. Bentzen in TR (1949), p. 290, and Gallig in Erwählungstradition, p. 80, see only a threat in the name Immanuel. Cf. Euber, Prophetic Faith, p. 140, who claims that Immanuel (possibly Ahaz's son) is the king of the remnant. When the land is made into pasturage through God's judgment, Immanuel will eat with the remnant the foods of the pre-agricultural age, cream and wild bees' honey (7:15,22), until the yoke of Assyria is broken.

⁵So the name of Isaiah's second son, 'Maher-shalal-hashbaz', and the threat in 8:5-10.

⁶Isa. 8:16-18.

nant.¹ They are signs and portents signifying the beginning of something new.² "The Church was forming within the nation."³ The "waiting for the Lord" of vs. 17 corresponds to the demand for faith in 7:4, 9b. The God who is the source of hope for this group is Yahweh who dwells on Mount Zion. There is a continuity, therefore, between the New and the Old, but it is a continuity grounded only in faith.⁴ Zion here, as in Chapter 6 means something more than a mere geographical location. The prophet's thought is out beyond any restricted national religion. He is thinking of the meeting with the God whose glory fills all the earth. Zion signifies the encounter of faith.⁵ Just as Isaiah, in the vision of his call,

¹Isa. 8:18, "Behold, I and the children whom the Lord has given me are signs and portents in Israel from the Lord of hosts who dwells on Mount Zion."

²Cf. Budde, "Schracken," ZAW, 41(1923), p. 174, who remarks "Sie sind nicht der Rest selbst, dessen Umkehr und Behaltung verheissen ist, nicht das neue Geschlecht selbst, dem Gott wiederum zur Seite stehn wird, wohl aber der erste Ansatz dazu, der Kern um den sich beides herumschlieszen wird." Cf. also Fichtner, "Yahwe's Plan" ZAW, 63(1951), p. 30; Allen, Prophet and Nation, p. 67; Hertrich, Jesaja, p. 199.

³J.R. Coates, The Saving History (), 1951), p. 39. Cf. also Welch, Kings and Prophets, p. 225; Micklem, Prophecy and Eschatology, pp. 155, 175; H.W. Robinson, "Hebrew Conception of Corporate Personality," Werden und Wesen, BZAW 66(1936), p. 55; Gray, Isaiah 1-XXVII, p. 155, "His distinction lies less in a doctrine of the remnant than in the practical step of creating the remnant in which he believes."

⁴M. Schmidt, Prophet und Tempel (Zurich, 1948), p. 31.

⁵Cf. Hertrich, Jesaja, p. 156. "Der Herr, auf den diese lebendigen Zeichen hinweisen, ist der Gott, dem es gefallen hat, sich auf dem Zion zu offenbaren, der sich aber in seiner Freiheit je und dann dort offenbaren wird, wo er Glauben findet." Note Hertrich's very helpful theological exposition (pp. 152-157) of "Die Gemeinde der Hoffnung" - Isa. 8:16-20.

experienced a cleansing through a power which was not his own, so in this passage the prophet acknowledges that his group of disciples have been given to him by God.¹ They represent God's grace toward His people. Although empirical Israel had turned its back upon God, and sought its security in frail military alliances, Yahweh was not to be left without a witness, without a representative group through which would come the promised redemption.

Zion speaks of the dwelling-place of Yahweh. In this passage it is not simply the temple on the hill, but the community which finds its centre in the faith communicated through Zion.² This is the tested stone, the sure foundation, which will abide when that which is false is swept away.³ The $\square^{\prime\prime}\gamma$ will find refuge.⁴ Their trust is in Him whose purpose is revealed in Zion, where there is centred God's "Heilsgeschichte." Zion is the centre of God's redemptive

¹Ibid., p. 199. "Der 'Rest' hat sein Leben nicht von sich aus, sondern er entsteht auf dieselbe Weise des Wunders, auf die auch die Berufung des Propheten geschah." Cf. also Müller, Rest, p. 60.

²G. von Rad, "Die Stadt auf dem Berge," Ev. Th. (1949), p. 447.

³Isa. 28:16. Cf. Schmidt, Prophet und Tempel, p. 44, "Gottes Plan die Wirklichkeit eines neuen Israel vorsieht." Cf. also A.C. Welch, Post-Exilic Judaism (Edinburgh, 1935), p. 9, who notes the close relationship of Isa. 28:16 to the remnant. "What Isaiah counted essential to the divine ends was not stone walls, but faith; and since only the souls of men can exercise faith, God's foundation-stone for the future was the remnant who trusted in Him. Those who lived by standards which were not of this world could overcome the world."

⁴Isa. 14:32.

activity for the whole world.¹ Here we see the close relationship between Isaiah's concept of the remnant and of Zion. Both speak of the Kingdom of God coming into the affairs of man, not by means of any pride in national greatness, but through the humble community of faith.²

Unless we interpret Isaiah's viewpoint on Zion thus, we are confronted with the problem of the consistency of his proclamation to his people of the imminent judgment of God. The problem arises in connection with the records of Isaiah's part in the crisis of 701 B.C. It is probable that chapters 36-39 reflect the views of the secondary tradition of Isaiah's disciples.³ There is undoubtedly a toning down of the note of judgment upon Judah, and a heightening of the element of promise into what could be interpreted as an example of the weal prophets of the court of Ahab.⁴ We may surmise, however,

¹Isa. 2:2-4.

²Cf. W. Eichrodt, Israel in der Weissagung des Alten Testament (Zurich, 1950), p. 42. "Die Gemeinde der Gläubigen ist, wie wir gesehen haben, als der Grundstein des neuen Gottesbaues auf dem Berg Zion bestimmt. Sie ist die Vorhut Gottes, in der das Gottesreich in diese irdische Welt einbricht. Und von hier fällt nun wieder Licht auf Jesaja 2, wo der Zion als der Mittelpunkt der Völkerwelt erscheint: dieser verachtete Rest ist die Keimzelle für die Gottesgemeinde aus allen Völkern; auf diesem Weg und nicht auf dem Weg der stolzen nationalen Grösse vollendet sich die Vermittlung des Segens Abrahams an die Menschheit." Cf. also Ibid., p. 37.

³But Mowinkel (Prophecy and Tradition, p. 65 f, p. 106 and note 71) claims that 36-39 are taken over from the Deuteronomic version of 2 Kings 18:17-20:19.

⁴Cf. Wm. Irwin, "The Attitude of Isaiah in the Crisis of 701," J. Rel. XVI (1936), pp. 406-418, who argues that the notion of the inviolability of Zion is entirely due to Isaiah's disciples.

that the tradition of the inviolability of Zion goes back to a pronouncement by Isaiah concerning Zion during the siege of Sennacherib in 701 B.C. There is no reason for denying the anti-Assyrian oracle (Isa. 10:5-19, 28-34) to Isaiah. Its significance, however, does not lie in some lapse of Isaiah back into a patriotism. The approach of the enemy does not stir the prophet into a sentimental defense of his beloved country. He sees, instead, that Assyria is used by God merely as an instrument of punishment. Assyria's advance is subject to God's will, and Isaiah sees that Zion, in the measure that it represents God's purpose or plan of action with men, cannot be overthrown.¹

There are four passages on the remnant in Isaiah which begin with the introductory formula $\text{חַיִּי וְקַיִי} \quad \text{יְהוָה} \quad 2$ This phrase is common in the prophet's sayings, being associated with his concept of the Day of the Lord, a Day when the Lord Himself shall bring low everything that is proud and lofty.³ From our examination of Isaiah's vision and commission, we should expect that the prophet's outlook for that great Day when Yahweh visits His people would include not only judgment, but some glimpse beyond into the new community which would issue from His acts of grace. There is nothing, therefore, in the manner in which these remnant passages are introduced

¹Cf. Welch, Kings and Prophets, p. 247 ff.

²Isa. 4:2-6; 10:20-23; 11:11-16, 28:5,6.

³Isa. 3:12. Cf. A. S. Kapebrud Joel Studies (Uppsala, 1948), pp. 165-167; and also Gressmann, Der Messias, p. 83 ff. and P.A. Munch, "The Expression Bajjom hahu(!)," Avhandlingar utg. av Det Norske Videnskaps-Akad. i Oslo, II (Hist.-Filos. K 1936, no. 2.)

to necessitate an origin in the secondary tradition. Each passage must be examined upon its own merits to ascertain how far it can be declared to come from the prophet himself.

Two of them¹ follow immediately upon woe passages, a fact which prompts many scholars to attribute them to post-Isaianic redaction based upon the optimistic scheme that weal must follow woe.² Hertrich, however, interprets the abruptness of the change in tone as an indication that God Himself is to perform the weal. "So unvermittelt muss von der Zukunft gesprochen werden, weil es Gottes Zukunft, Gottes Herrlichkeit, Gottes Stolz, Gottes Gegenwart sein wird."³ This juxtaposition of judgment and salvation is not superimposed upon the material, but springs from the unity of both aspects in the action of God. That Isaiah had anything to do directly with the present order of his oracles is highly improbable. That the disciples of the prophet, however, were working in accord with his viewpoint in placing the hope of the weal passages in unmediated contrast to the despair of the woe oracles is very likely.⁴ The distinctness of judgment and salvation and their inter-relatedness are implicit in the Prophet's cry "How long, O Lord?"⁵

¹Isa. 4:2-6; 28:5,6.

²Cf. Mowinckel, Ps. St., II, p. 278; and T.H. Robinson, "Die prophetischen Bücher im Lichte neuer Entdeckungen," ZAW, N.F. 4(1927), p. 7.

³Hertrich, Jesaja, p. 62.

⁴Ibid., p. 63 f.

⁵Isa. 6:11

That Chapter 4:2-6 attributes the glory of "that day," to the Lord and not to Israel is clearly evident. The 'branch' (נִצָּח) speaks of the shoot (נֹחַל) from the stump of Jesse, the Messianic ruler whom God is to give to rule His people.¹ The pride and the glory of the remnant (נֹחַל־יִשְׂרָאֵל) is in the fruit of the land, symbolic of God's acts of salvation in restoring the fertility of the soil "in that day." The fact that קֹדֶשׁ in Zion and קֹדֶשׁ in Jerusalem are called holy is not due primarily to a work of confession and repentance of those left in Israel, but is a creation of God with a view towards the preservation of life.² Because the Holy One of Israel has set this remnant apart from destruction, it has been made holy. It could not sanctify itself. Just as in the prophet's inaugural vision his experience of cleansing came from the presence of the Lord, so the iniquity of the daughters of Zion, pictured in Chapter 3:16-4:1, is washed away by God Himself.³

The thought of 4:5 and 6 is not typically Isaianic, but

¹Isa. 11:1. Cf. the messianic use of the word in Jer. 23:5; 33:15; Zech. 3:8; 6:12. R. de Vaux sees in this passage a connection of the remnant through the promised messiah to the New Israel in the promised land. Reste, p. 539.

²Cf. Herntrich, Jesaja, p. 68, who remarks "Dass die Heiligung dieses Restes ihre Wirklichkeit in Gottes Gabe und Setzung hat, wird auch dadurch betont, dass es nicht geradezu heisst: 'der Rest wird heilig sein.' Aber er wird doch nur darum 'heilig' genannt werden, weil er von Gott geheiligt ist." Cf. also Herntrich's comment in TWNT, IV, p. 213.

³Isa. 4:4. Cf. Isa. 1:26 where God's judgment is pictured as a process of purification.

does show some connection with the idea of a return to the glorious days of the wilderness journey when God tabernacled with the people.¹ This may represent a development in Isaiah's thought of the concept of the return to the wilderness in 6:13. It is not, however, a flight from the reality of the affairs of men on this earth. Although Zion is more than a geographical term, bearing a spiritual connotation, it enables us to see that the Kingdom of God is concerned with real history - with the history of the elect-people. Even as this history was, in the past, closely associated with the wonderful acts of God in the wilderness, so to the remnant in Mount Zion God's glory will appear, "a refuge and a shelter from the storm and rain."²

In the midst of a scathing denunciation of the iniquities of Ephraim and Judah, there is introduced a short passage of promise to the remnant.³ Once more the abruptness of the change of thought has prompted some scholars to regard

¹There are echoes of the Exodus tradition. Cf. H.W. Hertzberg, "Nachgeschichte, - A.T. Text innerhalb A.T.," Werden und Wesen, BZAW, 66 (1936), p. 117. Danell argues for the genuineness of 4:2-6, but believes that it is probably from the last stage in the development of the thought of the remnant, Studies, p. 167. Procksch sees in 4:4-6 a series of later additions, Jesaja, p. 83; TAT, p. 203. It is of interest to note that in the Dead Sea Scrolls there are "Zwischenräume" between verses 4 and 5, to indicate disjunctive verses. Cf. C. Kuhl, "Schreibereigentümlichkeiten," VT, II (1952), p. 316. Kissane, (Isaiah, I, p. 47) accepts the Isaianic authorship of 4:2-6. His attempt to put this passage into metre (p.44) is not too successful.

²Isa. 4:6 b. Cf. Hertrich, Jesaja, p. 73.

³Isa. 28:5,6.

these verses as spurious, added to tone down the oracle of destruction.¹ Danell tries to keep them in their context of the oracle of Ephraim by equating *יִשְׂרָאֵל* with Judah. Judah was for Isaiah, according to Danell, ideally the remnant of Israel, but through their sin² they fell short.³ Procksch regards these verses as probably Isaianic, but out of context.⁴ It is likely, however, that the comments, made by Hertrich on the abruptness of the change from 4:1 to 4:2 ff, apply here as well.⁵ The remnant is pictured as that people whose King is Yahweh, and for whom the Lord of hosts provides justice. There is certainly nothing in these verses which could not come from Isaiah's lips.⁶

The third remnant passage, beginning with the formula *חֲתִיבָהּ בְּיָדֶיךָ*, has been inserted in its present context on the catchword principle of compilation. Although the use

¹S. Mowinkel, "The Spirit and the Word in the Pre-Exilic Reforming Prophets," *JBL*, 53(1934), p. 202; *Ps.St.*, II, p. 278; *Prophecy and Tradition*, p. 73; B. Duhm, *Das Buch Jesaja* (Göttingen, 1897), p. 172. On the other hand, Kissane (*Isaiah*, p. 315), finds a transition from judgment by deducing the figure of the remnant of Ephraim from verse 4. He reads "flower of the faded" instead of "the fading flower" and deduces a parallel to the "twig" from the stump of Jesse (11:1). The "first-ripe fig" he then takes as a reference to the excellence of the remnant. This interpretation is not very convincing.

²Isa. 28:7.

³Danell, *Studies*, p. 184.

⁴Procksch, *Jesaja I*, p. 352. He says that it would fit in nicely with Chap. 4:2 ff.

⁵See above (p. 93).

⁶Procksch, *Jesaja I*, p. 352.

of the word רָחֹם in 10:19 is incidental to the passage, that word has been made the theme of the following section.¹ Here such words and phrases as the remnant, the survivors, the Holy One of Israel, יְהוָה יְחִידֵנוּ , יְהוָה רָחֹם , יְהוָה יְחִידֵנוּ reflect Isaiah's style.² There are difficulties, however, in the way of accepting the passage as it stands as Isaianic. There is no evidence to show that Judah was attacked by Assyria while she owed that country allegiance.³ It is not necessary to date the passage as late as the second century B.C., as Duhm suggests,⁴ but it is probably from a time when the chronology of Isaiah's era had become hazy.⁵

In this passage we have a commentary on יְהוָה רָחֹם , the rather strange name of Isaiah's first son, in which the dual aspect of the concept of the remnant is worked out. There is no real conflict between 10:21, 21 and 10:22, 23, but God's judgment is seen to be an integral part of His salva-

¹Isa. 10:20-23.

²Kissane, Isaiah, I, p. 130.

³Cf. Duhm, Jesaja, p. 78, who remarks, "Ahaz stützte sich nach II Kön. 16 auf Assur, ward aber nicht geschlagen, Hiskia wurde geschlagen, stützte sich aber nicht auf Assur." Contrast Danell, Studies, p. 175. Danell interprets the "remnant of Israel" as Judah. "The title makkehu 'he that smote him' is not illogical all the same. For Judah belonged to Israel, was 'the remnant of Israel', and the destruction by the Assyrians of the Northern Kingdom was a blow to the existence of the whole of Israel that is to say to Judah too." So also Procksch, Jesaja I, p. 171.

⁴Duhm, Jesaja, p. 79.

⁵Cf. Gray, Isaiah, p. 203.

tion.¹ It is probable that 10:22 f., by bringing in the thought of judgment, is a conscious attempt to prevent any misunderstanding of God's promise, whereby this remnant could claim to be a privileged group. This *ēl gibbôr* is no mere national god, but is the Holy One of Israel, who, in bringing the promise, also brings judgment upon evil. Verse 10:23 indicates that this judgment is eschatological. The Lord of hosts is to make "a full end" in the midst of the whole earth.²

The influence of Amos may be seen in the concept of justice as an overflowing river.³ Cazelles, however, dissociates the concept of justice from any idea of punishment. In a series of ingenious examples of exegesis of relevant passages,⁴ he attempts to show that *יְהוָה* and *יְהוָה* are

¹Cf. Danell, *Studies*, p. 175. "The way for the remnant to return and be saved is obviously through distress to the verge of annihilation." Contrast Procksch, *Jesaja I*, p. 171. He believes verses 20 and 21 to be a genuine fragment of Isaiah, but terms 22 and 23 as an addition from exilic times. Cf. also Mowinckel, *Ps. St. II*, p. 279, who says that 40:22 f. is a redaction of exegetical reflections. Mowinckel's theory is that all true remnant passages are positive in tone. R.B.Y. Scott believes that in 10:20-21; 22-23 we have oracles of opposite meaning which are both prophetic expansions of the enigmatic sentence of Isa. 7:3 - "A remnant shall return." - Scott "Isa. XXI;1-10, The Inside of a Prophet's Mind," *V.T. II* (1952), p. 278; and *IB* 5, p. 244.

²Cf. Mowinckel, *Ps. St. II*, p. 278; H.W. Wolff, "Die Begründungen der prophetischen Heils und Unheils," *ZAW*, N.F. 11(1934), p. 140; and "Das Thema 'Umkehr' in der alttestamentlichen Prophetie," *ZTK*, (1951), p. 140.

³Isa. 10:22. Cf. H. Cazelles, "A propos de quelques Textes difficiles relatifs à la justice de Dieu dans l'Ancien Testament," *RB* (1951), p. 176.

⁴Amos 5:24; Isa. 10:22,23; 28:16.

"l'effet d'une providence et d'un secours divin assurant la bonne marche et la paix dans les sociétés humaines."¹ His desire to avoid the modern juridical idea of justice in connection with בְּיָשׁוּב is commendable. He emphasises that the state of יְהוָה is one of balance. But he forgets that God, to bring about this balance, must bring destruction of that which is false, which implies indeed a punishment of evil. He has gained his point of view only by drastic conjectural emendations.²

By retaining the juxtaposition of judgment and salvation in 10:20-23, we find a commentary on the remnant which is basically in accord with Isaiah's viewpoint. There is a deepening of the concept of the name She'ar Yashub in the emphasis upon the conversion of the remnant. As Herntrich has observed, however, this turning to God on the part of the remnant, is the result and not the prerequisite of God's turning to the remnant.³ The promise of this passage rests, therefore, not

¹Ibid., p. 175.

²Ibid., pp. 179-182. Cazelles argues that the אֵל גִּבּוֹר of 10:22 is not concessive, strikes out the יְהוָה and interprets אֵל גִּבּוֹר as an "active man." The overflowing of justice he then interprets as messianic, applying to the actions of the man who is found in the remnant. Verse 23 is a gloss based upon an apocalyptic understanding of the אֵל גִּבּוֹר in verse 22. He translates verses 21 and 22 as follows.

"Un reste reviendra, reste de Jacob, vers El gibbôr.
 Bien plus ton peuple, O Israël sera comme le sable de la mer.
 Un reste reviendra dans laquelle se trouve l'homme actif
 qui fera déborder la justice," (p. 182).

³Cr. Herntrich, Jesajas, p. 200. Herntrich makes 9:1-6 (ET 2-7) the basis for 10:20-23. "Die Umkehr zu dem אֵל גִּבּוֹר wird geschehen, weil der אֵל גִּבּוֹר sich kehrt zu den "Entronnenen" Jacobs."

on the human possibility of conversion to God, but upon the fact of God having returned to man.

Quite different in tone is the description of the remnant in Isa. 11:11-16.¹ The hope centred in this remnant is the re-establishment of the national sovereignty in Palestine. This return of the remnant from the four corners of the earth is characterized by revenge upon Israel's national enemies, a thought which separates this passage from Isaiah's viewpoint on the execution of God's wrath.² We have in these verses a redaction along the lines of those which turned Isaiah's concept of the inviolability of Zion into a secular, nationalistic hope.

The contribution of Isaiah to the development of the concept of the Remnant has been considerable. He prophesied in a time when the threat to the existence of his people as a political entity had become a gruesome reality. From the commencement of his ministry he was aware of the fact that he was called by God to proclaim the impending doom of the nation. Yet with that certainty came also the realisation that God's

¹Cf. Procksch, Jesaja, I, p. 157, "Der Rest des Gottesvolkes ist hier nicht der Kern wie bei Jesaja, sondern der Schweif in der Diaspora."

²Cf. Hertrich, Jesajas, p. 216 f. He sees a picture here of Israel "κατὰ σκῆμα." Most scholars date this passage in the exilic or post-exilic periods. Cf. Welch, Kings and Prophets, p. 187; Bentzen, Introduction II, p. 107; Kissane, Isaiah, I, p. 145; Procksch, Jesaja I, p. 157; Gray, Isaiah, p. 225. Danell has attempted to maintain its Isaianic authorship. - Studies, pp. 176-178. He is able to reconcile the tone of this passage with the Prophet Isaiah only because, in his view, nationalism motivated much of Isaiah's ministry.

purpose with Israel could not fail, and that out of Israel a Remnant would be preserved. The symbolic act of naming his son "She'ar Yashub" gave prominence to the theological significance of the concept of the Remnant. It threw into bold relief the prophetic hope for the future, and provided a catch-word phrase round which the thought of the school of Isaiah's disciples could cluster.

Although the idea is not clearly elucidated, Isaiah's thoughts concerning king, messiah, and Zion, together with his emphasis upon faith as man's true means of encounter with God, point forward towards the concept of the Remnant as the People of God. Isaiah's firm hope in the permanence of God's purpose with the people of Mount Zion left itself open to misunderstanding. Later generations were to read into these predictions nationalistic aspirations. But rightly understood Isaiah is seen to be out beyond nationalism.

B. THE REMNANT IN ZEPHANIAH

The concept of the Remnant in Zephaniah is set against renewed emphasis upon the imminence of the Day of Yahweh. In language that glows with passion and is marked by earnestness, the prophet proclaims the great Day as one of darkness and distress, overwhelming the whole earth.¹ In declaring

¹Zeph. 1:2,3,14-18; 2:3; 3:6,8. There is no need to deny this eschatological picture to Zephaniah, as Gerleman and Elliger do. Cf. G. Gerleman, Zephania (Lund, 1942), p.5, and also K. Elliger, "Das Buch der zwölf Kleinen Propheten," ATD, 25

this universal catastrophe to be the judgment of God against the unrighteousness of men, Zephaniah stands in true succession to Amos,¹ Micah,² and Isaiah.³ Zephaniah, with his predecessors, finds the Remnant concept as the corollary of the tension between the recognition of the necessity of God's judgment upon wickedness, and the firm trust that God's purpose for man would not be thwarted, and that His dealings with mankind should continue.

It is well to guard against trying to place the prophecy into a strictly logical balance by the excision of one or other side of this prophecy. For instance, logically speaking, there could be no further concept of a Remnant after the dire predictions of utter world-wide destruction in 1:2-4 and 1:15-18, and yet the concept of a Remnant after the disaster threads its way through the rest of the book. A separation of the wicked from the righteous is frequently implied.⁴ In

(Göttingen, 1951), p. 57. Elliger believes that the genuine oracles of Zephaniah in Chapter One are enveloped in the redactor's understanding of the universal implications of those oracles. Regarding the phrase "Day of Yahweh," cf. H.W. Robinson, Inspiration and Revelation in the Old Testament (Oxford, 1946), p. 143, "For the prophets the phrase did not denote any and every manifestation; it retained the special meaning evident in the use of it by Amos, the meaning of a final judgment." For a complete review of the terminology "Day of Yahweh," see ibid., pp. 135-146. Cf. also A. S. Kapelrud, Joel Studies (Uppsala, 1948), pp. 71-73. Kapelrud suggests that Zephaniah, like Joel, is probably dependent upon the ancient cultic tradition for this concept of the Day.

¹Amos 5:18 ff.

²Micah 1:2-4

³Isa. 2:12 ff.

⁴Zeph. 1:4-6, 8, 11, 12; 2:3, 7, 9, 10; 3:11-13. Zeph. 3:9, 10, 19, 20 are probably post-exilic.

this juxtaposition of threat and promise Zephaniah saw the end of the age, and the beginning of a new relationship of God with His people. God's judgment was certain to come. Nothing could prevent it. But Zephaniah was likewise sure that all who came before God humbly would find a future. There were those who would endure to the end and be saved. We would sever the prophecy in two if we denied to Zephaniah the great hope in the future of the People of God.

It is necessary to investigate the 'Sitz im Leben' of the Prophet to understand and appreciate his point of view. It is probable that he flourished in the early part of Josiah's reign, because the Assyriolatry of Manasseh was in evidence,¹ there is no mention here of the Deuteronomic Reform of 622 B.C., and nothing of the downfall of the Assyrian Kingdom.² The youthful king hasn't yet begun his program of emancipation from Assyria. That Zephaniah may have sympathized with the young King Josiah is a possibility from the fact that the indictment against the ruling class mentions the Royal family but not the King himself.³ The rumblings of international upheavals were certain to be heard in Jerusalem. The vaunted power of the ruthless Assyrians was swiftly diminishing and Chaldaea was ripe for revolt. The Scythians were making inroads upon the crumbling defenses of the Empire. All these circumstances may have

¹Zeph. 1:5,9.

²Cf. K. Elliger, ATD, 25, p. 53.

³Zeph. 1:8.

heightened Zephaniah's conviction of imminent doom. No direct reference to the Scythians can be found in his writings, however.¹ The emphasis is upon the Day of Yahweh being ushered in by the Lord Himself with little thought about human mediation of the judgment. As in Amos, this prophecy challenged the people to prepare to meet their God.²

Zephaniah has travelled beyond Amos, however, and is an apt pupil of Isaiah when he comes to consider the outlook for the future. His language is much like that of Amos at times,³ but transcends his predecessor's thought in the command to seek humility. In this concept he has gone even beyond the thought of his master, Isaiah, in his tirade against the haughty and proud of the land.⁴ Zephaniah sees that the Remnant is to be composed not just of those who through force of circumstances have been made to feel oppressed, but those who, by their attitude of humble expectation before God, indicate that they are

¹Regarding the possibility of Zephaniah's threats being related to the Scythian invasions cf. A.B. Davidson, "Nahum, Habakkuk, and Zephaniah," The Cambridge Bible (1 ed. rev.; Cambridge, 1920), p. 106 f.; Oesterly and Robinson, History of Israel I p. 413 f.; J.M.P. Smith, W.H. Ward, and J.A. Bower, "Micah, Zephaniah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Obadiah, Joel," ICC (Edinburgh, 1912), p. 163, 170 f.; J.M.P. Smith, The Prophets and their Times (Chicago, 1925), pp. 106 ff.; Bentzen, Introduction to O. T. II (1952), p. 122.

²Zeph. 1:7; 2:2; 3:8.

³Compare Amos 5:14,15, and Zeph. 2:3. "Seek the Lord --- perhaps," Wellhausen states the theory that the words "perhaps you may be hidden on the day of the wrath of the Lord" may have been written after the invaders decided to follow the coastal road, and it was hoped that Jerusalem would escape. But this isn't supported by the context of the demand for humility, nor by our true knowledge of the political exigencies of the time.

⁴Isa. 2:12 ff; 28:2 ff.

fully dependent upon God's grace.¹

The enlargement and confirmation of this concept of the Remnant is found in 3:11-13. As in four places in Isaiah concerning the Remnant, this passage is introduced by the phrase

חֲנֻכָּהּ וְנִדְּוָהּ.² It concerns the purification of Yahweh's people. Those who survive the Day of Judgment are a people humble and lowly.

וְהָיָה שְׁמִי בְּקִרְבָּם עַל עַמִּי וְנִדְּוָהּ 3

The Prophet sees beyond the Day of destruction and envisages a people and its God. After the destruction of Israel there is still an עַמִּי which shows by its inner purity the results of its dependence upon Yahweh. It is a holy עַמִּי that

לֹא יִעֲשֶׂה עֲוֹנוֹתָי וְלֹא יִבְרָא כְּזָב
וְלֹא יִבְרָא כְּזָב בְּיָמָיו לְשׁוֹן פִּתְרֵי 4

A.B. Davidson calls this the most beautiful thing in the book.

¹Cf. Elliger, ATD 25, p. 65, "Demut ist für Zephaniah ein spezifisch religiöses Begriff und entspricht dem was Jesaja 'Glaube' nimmt." Cf. also Müller, Rest, p. 66, who notes that those who are the humbled need to be exhorted to seek humility.

²Cf. above, p. 92. Elliger says that at least 3:11, 12a are original. Verses 12b and 13 go into the third person and may be a redaction, but at any rate they move on the same plane as 11 and 12a. Cf. Elliger ATD 25, p. 75.

³Heaton recognizes in these verses a true dogmatic use of the term "remnant." The hiph'il is used with the direct object. Heaton does, however, suggest that this passage is exilic or post-exilic in origin. Cf. E.W. Heaton, "The Root חֲנֻכָּה", JTS III, p. 33. A post-exilic dating for 3:12 f. has been assumed by J.M.P. Smith, "Micah-Joel," I.C.C., p. 253 and R.H. Pfeiffer, Introduction to the Old Testament (New York, 1941), p. 601.

⁴Zeph. 3:13.

The picture of the Remnant coming newly forth from the convulsions and afflictions of the judgment, humble and truthful, blessed but filled with a chastened joy is exquisite.¹

If Zephaniah had any influence upon his younger contemporary this prophecy of the Remnant may have contributed to Jeremiah's concept of the New Covenant written upon the heart.²

How, then, do we reconcile this forecast of a humble Remnant with the picture in Chapter 2:7,9 of a plundering, triumphant Remnant? One seemingly simple way out is to regard these verses as exilic or post-exilic.³ Davidson, however, stresses the fact that 2:4-15, the oracles against the nations, have no points of contact with the period of the exile. There is, for instance, in this section a threat against Nineveh which was in ruins twenty years before the exile. He believes also that it would be highly improbable that a threat of judgment during the exile would fail to include Edom.⁴ It should be noted that in neither of these Remnant passages is it stated that the Remnant destroyed the enemy. This remains part of the work of Yahweh on His great Day. The Remnant is pictured as entering into its possession and taking spoil of the ruined

¹A.B. Davidson, "Zephaniah," CB, p. 114.

²Jer. 31:31 ff.

³Cf. Elliger, ATD 25, p. 67, where he claims that verse 7 is by a post-587 writer depicting trust for the Remnant of the house of Judah. Here, he says, there are mixed in clear examples of the political desires of later generations. Cf. also E. Heaton, "The Root" 78W, JTS III, p. 33, who assumes that Zeph. 2:7,9 are exilic.

⁴Davidson, "Zephaniah," CB, p. 108

land of the empty, destroyed villages. The destruction is a "fait accompli." There is no need, then, to consider this concept of the Remnant as that of a powerful, conquering host. It is still the poor, humble, lowly Remnant of Zephaniah, which can only dwell securely because God has exacted vengeance upon its enemies.¹

It is true that we find here no glimpse of the role which the Remnant should play as the mediator of salvation. It alone is granted a future and a hope. This, however, does not force us to attribute nationalistic hopes to the prophet Zephaniah.² It is at this very point that he goes a different way to that of the Deuteronomic reformers. The nation is to be broken up, and God is calling a people out of that nation,³ a $\square \vee$ humble and lowly, upon whom the hopes of the future rest.

¹Cf. G.A. Smith, The Book of the Twelve Prophets, Vol. II (London, 1905), p. 42 f., who says that the security of a poor lowly Remnant of Israel implies that there should be no threat from without and this necessitates the judgment upon the ancient enemies of Israel as predicted in 2:4-15.

²Cf. Gerleman, Zephania, pp. 36, 40, 120-127. The concept of the Remnant here is a synthesis, according to Gerleman, of the judgment proclamations of Amos and Isaiah on the one side, and the nationalistic dreams of super-power of the "Heils" prophets on the other.

³Cf. Elliger, ATD 25, p. 53, "bei Zephania noch stärker Nation und religiöse Gemeinde auseinandertreten," and also G. von Rad, Das Gottesvolk im Deuteronomium (Stuttgart, 1929), p. 89, "die deuteronomistische Theologie wäre vielleicht als eine Reaktion gegen Jesaja aufzufassen, mit anderen Worten 'als ein Protest gegen die von Jesaja (und Zephaniah) angebahnte Wandlung des Volksgedankens.'"

The jubilant section 3:14-17b has been compared with the Enthronement Psalms.¹ That it may be original with Zephaniah is a possibility mentioned by Gerleman;

Zephanja hat hier die glückliche Zeit, die er erwartet, in den üblichen Formeln eines Thronbesteigungsliedes geschildert.²

The last section 3:17c-20 is definitely exilic or later, and expresses a different concept of the Remnant to that of Zephaniah. The Remnant of Israel, gathered together from captivity, is to be renowned and praised in all the world. Such a note causes Elliger to comment that it is,

ein weniger würdiges ^cSchlussstück, ein mahnender Hinweis darauf, dass wir 'solchen Schatz nur in irdenen Gefäßen' (2 Cor. 4:7) haben.³

With his concept of humility as an essential attribute of the Remnant, Zephaniah has made a valuable contribution to the long line of development of the prophetic thought on that subject.⁴ He has made crystal clear the fact that the

¹ Cf. Gerleman, Zephanja, p. 62, who refers to Gunkel, Einleitung in die Psalmen (Göttingen, 1933), p. 108. Cf. Ps. 97, 98, 99. Cf. also Elliger ATD 25, p. 77.

² Gerleman, Zephanja, p. 62. Cf. also S. R. Driver, An Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament (9th ed.; Edinburgh, 1913), p. 342.

³ Elliger, ATD 25, p. 78.

⁴ Cf. Müller, Rest, p. 65, who claims that in Zephaniah we have the high-point in the prophetic concept of the Remnant. We can hardly agree with J.M.P. Smith who says that "he is a destructive critic pure and simple. He is not stirred by any profound sympathy for the peoples about to be destroyed, nor even for his own doomed nation. He does stress the ethical element in the coming judgment; it is rather a punishment sent by Yahweh upon a wicked world that does not recognize his power." - J.M.P. Smith, The Prophets and their Times, p. 110. Cf. also T. H. Robinson, Prophecy and the Prophets (London, 1953), p. 112. Père de Vaux in "Le Reste D'Israel" RB (Oct/33), p. 533, claims that there isn't much that is new concerning the Remnant in Zephaniah.

guarantee for the continu^{u.c.}ence of the People of God lay in unqualified faith in the God of Israel.

C. THE REMNANT IN JEREMIAH

The Book of Jeremiah is no exception to the pattern which we have found in the earlier prophetic works. Here too is to be found the alternating scheme of disaster and salvation. In some of the strongest language that we find in prophecy, Jeremiah proclaims a full and overwhelming destruction of Jerusalem and Judah. Death will enter the windows.¹ There will be no more rejoicing at marriage feasts.² The whole land will be devoured by the sword,³ and by famine and pestilence.⁴ Any who seek to flee from this disaster will be pursued and put to death.⁵ None will escape this judgment. No remnant will survive.⁶ In one vision the prophet proclaims the coming of a cosmic destruction.

I looked on the earth, and lo, it was waste and void
and to the heavens, and they had no light.
I looked on the mountains, and lo they were quaking,
and all the hills moved to and fro.
I looked, and lo, there was no man,
and all the birds of the air had fled.
I looked, and lo, the fruitful land was a desert,
and all its cities were laid in ruins
before the Lord, before his fierce anger.⁷

On the other hand, alongside these prophecies which seem

¹ Jer. 9:21

² 16:3,4,9.

³ Jer. 8:16; 12:12

⁴ 14:12,18; 15:2; 16:4.

⁵ Jer. 9:16; 16:16,17.

⁶ 4:11,12; 6:9; 8:13; 15:9b.

⁷ Jer. 4:23-26. Cf. A.C. Welch, "Jeremiah, His Time and His Work" (Oxford, 1955), p.116. Welch sees this judgment as universal, a reversion to the state of יְהוָה יִמְחָד in Genesis 1:2.
This interpretation is opposed by J.H. Gailey, "The Sword and

to leave no room whatsoever for any survivors, or any hope for the future, there are passages which point beyond the tragedy which confronts Israel to the possibility of a new life. This note is sounded in the account of the Call of Jeremiah. Not only is he to

pluck up and to break down,
to destroy and to overthrow

but also to "build and to plant."¹ The positive intention of the ministry of Jeremiah is to be seen in the section whose keyword is נִוֵּץ and which seeks the people's repentance.² That there are limits to the extent of the judgment of God is evident from the refrain which appears in the midst of some of these oracles of destruction.

Go up through her vine-rows and destroy,
but make not a full end.³

The possibility of a future beyond disaster is implicit in the story of the potter and the clay,⁴ in the reference to the exiles in Babylonia as good figs,⁵ in the action of Jeremiah purchasing property in Anathoth immediately preceding the

the Heart" Interpretation (July, 1955), p. 300, who regards it as poetic hyperbole by an observer who sees the damage brought about by the cutting down of trees and the trampling of fields.

¹Jeremiah 1:10.

²Jer. 3:1-4:4. Cf. J. Muilenberg, "Hebrew Rhetoric: Repetition and Style," Vetus Testamentum Supplements, 1953, p. 104 f.

³Jer. 5:10. Cf. 4:27 and 5:18 where the refrain is "I will not make a full end." Hyatt "Jeremiah" Interpreter's Bible 5, p. 847, believes that the word 'not' in 5:10 is a mitigating gloss, but S.R. Hopper, ibid., thinks the reference is similar to Isaiah's concept of the remnant of the trunk of a vine (Isa.6:13)

⁴Jer. 18:1 ff.

⁵24:5-7.

destruction of the land.¹ To the exiles in Babylon Jeremiah proclaimed that God's purpose for them was for welfare and not for evil, to give them a future and a hope.²

I will be found by you, says the Lord, and I will restore your fortunes.³

Even to the remnant in Judah, following the slaying of Gedaliah by Ishmael, Jeremiah held out a hope for the future.

If you will remain in this land, then I will build you up and not pull you down; I will plant you and not pluck you up; for I repent of the evil which I did to you.⁴

There is, therefore, in the prophecy of Jeremiah a vivid contrast between the unqualified predictions of doom and the oracles declaring the hope of salvation. It is difficult to understand just how these diverse views were reconciled in the mind of Jeremiah, but we do better to accept the presence of both than to excise one or the other arbitrarily.⁵ As with Isaiah, so with Jeremiah the nature of his call was decisive for the content of his prophecy. Right at the beginning of his ministry there came to Jeremiah the realisation that to be God's prophet involves the proclamation of grace and

¹Jer. 32:9-15.

²Jer. 29:11.

³Jer. 29:14. Cf. Welch, Jeremiah, p. 174, who claims that the first part of this verse is probably from Jeremiah, and that the phrase 'restore your fortunes' was interpreted and expanded later in the sense of bringing the exiles back from captivity.

⁴Jer. 42:10.

⁵J. Skinner, Prophecy and Religion (Cambridge, 1926), p. 74 ff.

judgment.¹ To destroy and to overthrow means also to build and to plant.

This account of the call of Jeremiah points to the fact that the heart of the message of the prophet is formed out of his relationship with God. His strength lay not in the keenness of his political insight, but rather in his understanding of the ways of God, as Welch has so aptly expressed it.

Jeremiah had been called and commissioned to proclaim the purpose of Yahweh. His sense of impending judgment came from his knowledge of the character which informed this purpose. Out of that could issue more than judgment, and even judgement, when it came, was the prelude to a future which held hope.²

We may also accept as generally true Welch's verdict that, at the beginning of his public work, the hope beyond the judgment did not occupy a large part of the mind and thought of Jeremiah.³ The urgent need to summon men to face the impending doom dominated the resources of the young prophet from Anathoth. This very summons, however, was to meet the righteous and holy God in whom alone their hope lay. The way to a

¹A. Weiser, "Das Buch des Propheten Jeremia" (Kap. 1-25:13) ATD, 20, p. 14, "Der Text reden jedenfalls nicht von einer zeitlichen Aufeinanderfolge, sondern von einem Nebeneinander. Gerade darin besteht das Gotteswunder dass in dem Gericht die Gnade Gottes am Werk ist, die aufbaut, indem sie gestört, und mitten im Untergang neues Leben schafft." 3er

²Welch, Jeremia, p. 216. Cf. also W. Vischer, "The Vocation of the Prophet to the Nations", Interpretation (July, 1955), p. 315, "The faithfulness of God wins the decisive victory when all is lost through the unfaithfulness of his people."

³Welch, Jeremia, p. 216.

future was the way of repentance.¹ Later when shattering blows had been dealt the false hopes which sprang from the presence of the temple and of the city of Jerusalem, Jeremiah was quick to make explicit to the exiles that there was a real future for them.²

This gives us a clue to the rather puzzling fact that Jeremiah, although using the thought and content of the concept of the Remnant, was very sparing in adopting the term itself. He never specifically named the Golah as the Remnant, and only after the destruction of 586 B.C. did he use the term with positive significance in reference to those left in Judah.³ Although they were to disappoint him, Jeremiah did promise mercy to the Remnant in Judah if they obeyed God and stayed in that land. Up to the point, however, where temple and town still stood to bolster up the hopes of the dwellers of Judah, Jeremiah carefully avoided the term.

Most probably the prophet's concern was that his urgent message of the impending doom would be blunted by false hopes engendered by the term 'remnant'. A century had passed since

¹Jeremia 4:1 ff. ²Jer. 24:5-7. Cf. also ibid., p.217.

³Jer. 42:10. Müller, Rest, p. 67 ff. has showed very clearly the disinclination of the Prophet Jeremiah to use the term 'remnant' with a positive significance. He fails, however, to recognize that in 42:10 there is one place where the term is used in its traditional form, bearing the possibility of weal. He stresses, instead, the fact that this Remnant refused its chance and was given up by the Prophet as hopeless. Cf. Jer. 44:14.

Isaiah's resounding words "Only a remnant shall return" had impressed themselves on the minds of the people of Jerusalem. And, as we have seen above,¹ the surprising release from destruction at the hands of the Assyrians confused in the minds of the people the firm trust in the purpose of God, which was Isaiah's belief, with the doctrine of the inviolability of the temple of Jerusalem. Against this false cult Jeremiah had to do battle, as we see in his temple address;

Do not trust in these deceptive words: 'This is the temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord.'²

Just as Shiloh had been destroyed so the temple of Jerusalem faced certain disaster.³ This temple address throws light on the attitude of the prophet to the Deuteronomic reform instituted by King Josiah in 621 B.C.⁴ He was probably sympathetic to the bulk of the teachings of the reform, but there was the principle of centralisation of the cult in Jerusalem, which destroyed for Jeremiah any positive value in the movement.⁵ We may hardly suppose that at any period of his ministry Jeremiah supported this reform.⁶ There was much to

¹p. 91f.

²Jer. 7:4.

³Jer. 7:12-14. Cf. also 19:1 ff, where, in the symbol of the shattered pot, Jeremiah effectively shatters the concept of the inviolability of the Temple and Jerusalem. So Hopper, IB 5, p. 968.

⁴Cf. Skinner, Prophecy, p. 91. The law-book is probably the 'legislative kernel' of D¹ (chapters 12-26).

⁵Welch, Jeremia, pp. 76-96. Cf. also Euber, Prophetic Faith, p. 168.

⁶Against Skinner, Prophecy, p. 105, who thinks that Jeremiah, in the early period of his ministry, might have done so. But cf. also H.H. Rowley, "The Prophet Jeremiah and the Book of

overcome - the false trust in the sanctuary which developed wrongly from Isaiah's concept of invulnerable Zion - to countenance a further stress on one place as the only avenue to God.¹

It was in these circumstances of renewed emphasis upon the means of approach to God, rather than the nature of that approach, that Jeremiah was careful to avoid using the term 'remnant'. He was a true prophet, entering into the need of the moment and presenting the existential call to decision. The people needed to be loosed from their false hopes in the cult, and so Jeremiah's words disquieted them, pronouncing utter destruction upon all that they held in highest esteem - upon land and temple.

The purpose of Jeremiah's prophecies may be seen most clearly in the passage in Chapter 24 which contrasts the bad and the good figs. The word of the Lord came to Jeremiah to declare that those who had been exiled to Babylon in 597 B.C. were like good figs, whereas those who remained in Judah were like bad figs. This identification has surprised some commentators, so much so that they have denied the passage to Jeremiah.² Hopper, on the contrary, believes that this is

Deuteronomy," Studies in Old Testament Prophecy, ed. H.H. Rowley, (Edinburgh, 1950), pp. 157-174, where he comes to support the view that Jeremiah at first welcomed the Josianic reform.

¹Cf. Buber, Prophetic Faith, p. 168.

²Cf. Hyatt, IB 5, p. 997, who claims that chapter 24 was written by the Deuteronomist, and expresses an attitude inconsistent with that of Jeremiah. "It is hard to believe that Jeremiah thought God's favour depended on whether or not a man had been exiled, rather than upon his repentance and obedience."

Jeremiah's message to the people at home, just as Chapter 29 is his message to the exiles.¹ Those left in Jerusalem still tend to cling to the old illusions that, because the temple is in their midst, they have Yahweh's protection, and have ready access to Him by their reform of worship. The exiles, on the contrary, by having all their illusions shattered, and by being uprooted and sent into captivity, are in reality closer to God. Those in exile are under the special care of God. He has given them a heart to know who He is.² They have a chance to learn that Yahweh still has regard for them, although they are without the temple.

The contrast in Chapter 24, then, is not that between two groups of Israelites, one morally sound, and the other morally rotten.³ Rather the contrast is in the fate allotted to two sections of Judaism. It was Yahweh who had taken the exiles to Babylon, and if they maintained a right heart toward Him, they would experience His grace.

For Jeremiah to come to this positive viewpoint of the future of the exiles does not mean, however, that he thereby gave up any hope for those who remained in Judah, as Müller

¹Hopper, IB 5, p. 997 ff. Cf. also Welch Jeremia, p.165 ff.

²Jer. 24:7. Cf. also Ezekiel 11 for background to this situation.

³Cf. Welch Jeremia, p. 161 ff. He protests against the view that the best elements were deported in 597 B.C., leaving only an undisciplined mob. The trouble with the 'bad figs' at home was that they were controlled by a dangerous view of religion, i.e. that in the shadow of the temple they were secure.

claims.¹ His appeal to the remnant in Judah after the disaster of 586 B.C. is proof of that.² Thus we see the main thrust of the message of the prophet. He called upon Israel to give up its trust in false securities and to rely upon the mercy of God. And although the historical circumstances of his time meant that the first part - the warning against false securities occupied the major portion of his work, nonetheless he did not hesitate, when the opportunity arose to show the other side of God's anger, to show the grace which preserved for them a future. Those who fled to Egypt after the murder of Gedaliah betrayed their mistrust of God's purpose. They were leaving God behind, and Jeremiah proclaimed their doom vigorously.³

Thus we see that the prophet of doom who had so fearlessly confronted his nation with its impending destruction, and who for that reason had been hated as a traitor, was, in the final course of events, proved to be Judah's greatest patriot. That Jeremiah proclaimed in the name of the God of Israel the judgment that was to fall upon Judah was in itself an element of hope for the survivors of the disaster which befell both temple and land. Had there been no voice in those days but the false predictions of the professional prophets there would have been nothing but total disillusionment.⁴ Jeremiah

¹Muller, Rest, p. 71.

²Jer. 42:10 f.

³44:14 f.

⁴cf. John Bright, The Kingdom of God, p. 122, who writes "That Israel's faith could survive at all, that Israel could live to hope in anything at all, was in good part due to the prophets who so ruthlessly demolished all false hope."

prepared the way for the people to see that it was God who struck the blow, and that Israel's future remained in His hand.

Also out of his own loneliness Jeremiah forged the hope of the individual soul in God. He was not the first to do so; Moses and Elijah had experienced such hope. But in him especially there is to be found that stress on the inner, individual relationship of religion. And so

The notion of the elect people thus becomes far more individualized a matter than it had ever been before. Individual men of the humiliated residue of the nation who at all costs hear the Word of God and obey his will - these are the people of God.¹

Thus we see that the concept of the Remnant has been taken up by Jeremiah, even 'though he is very sparing in the use of the term 'Remnant'. He has maintained the prophetic hope that God's purpose with His people would continue beyond judgment. In his stress upon the absolute doom facing the cult, he attacked the false idea of the invulnerability of Zion, and developed the true concept of the Remnant which Isaiah proclaimed. The direction of this development leads to more emphasis being placed upon the inner, individual relationship of religion.

¹Bright, Kingdom, p. 123. Cf. the letter sent by Jeremiah to the exiles in Ch. 29.

Chapter V

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CONCEPT OF THE REMNANT IN EZEKIEL

In the last three decades the Book of Ezekiel has been scrutinized very carefully by Old Testament scholars. The traditional view of Ezekiel as a priest, who was carried into captivity in 597 B.C., and who was called to be a prophet there, and who worked exclusively in Babylonia, has been attacked from many sides. Some would deny the prophecy altogether to such an historical person as Ezekiel, making it a pseudepigraph.¹ Other scholars deny the largest portion of the book to Ezekiel, crediting a later redactor with wide expansions of the text.² Some transfer all or a portion of Ezekiel's ministry to Palestine.³ In the last decade, however, the traditional view of the essential unity of the

¹C.J. Torrey, "Pseudo-Ezekiel and the Original Prophecy (New Haven, 1930); and James Smith, The Book of the Prophet Ezekiel: a New Introduction (London, 1931).

²G. Hölscher, Hesekiel, der Dichter und das Buch (Gießen, 1924); and W.A. Irwin, The Problem of Ezekiel (Chicago, 1943).

³V. Herntrich, Ezechielprobleme (Gießen, 1932); J.B. Harford, Studies in the Book of Ezekiel (Cambridge, 1935); A. Bertholet, Hesekiel (Tübingen, 1936); H.W. Robinson, Two Hebrew Prophets: Studies in Hosea and Ezekiel (London, 1948); A.C. Welch, Post-Exilic Judaism, pp. 58 ff.

book, and of the Babylonian setting for Ezekiel's work has gained ground.¹ We may safely conclude that Ezekiel was a real person who was taken as a captive to Babylonia in 597 B.C. He was called to be a prophet and his ministry was entirely among the exiles. The present book of Ezekiel is a collection of his prophecies with some expansion by later redactors. Ezekiel's message is, however, substantially that of the book as we have it today.

This newly-won position regarding the life and work of Ezekiel has contributed to a greater understanding of the development of the concept of the Remnant in this time. Ezekiel stands before us as a real, historical person for whom the events of the last years of the independence of Judah were of utmost significance. We are not surprised to find that Ezekiel was greatly concerned with the traditional prophetic concept of the Remnant. On two occasions Ezekiel expressed in his prayer to God the fear that the Remnant of Israel would be utterly destroyed. In the vision of the smiting of Jerusalem, Ezekiel cried out, "Ah Lord God! wilt thou destroy all that remains of

¹C.G. Howie, "The Date and Composition of Ezekiel," JBL Monograph Series, IV (Philadelphia, 1950); H.H. Rowley, "Ezekiel in Modern Study," BJRL, XXXVI, No. 1 (September, 1953), pp. 146-190; M. Schmidt, Prophet und Tempel, pp. 109-171; G.A. Cooke, "The Book of Ezekiel," ICC (Edinburgh, 1936); C.J. Mullo Weir, "Aspects of the Book of Ezekiel," (VT, II(1952) pp. 97 ff.; J.W. Miller, Das Verhältniss Jeremias und Hesekiels Sprachlich und Theologisch Untersucht (Assen, 1955); G. Fohrer, "Die Hauptprobleme des Buches Ezekiel," BZAW, LXXII (1952), and idem, Ezekiel (Tübingen, 1955).

Israel ($\text{לְיִשְׂרָאֵל} \text{ שֶׁנֶּחֱזַקְתָּ } - \text{לְיִשְׂרָאֵל} \text{)$ in the outpouring of thy wrath upon Jerusalem?"¹

And again, after the death of Pelatiah, the man denounced by Ezekiel as a wicked counsellor, the prophet cried out,

"Ah Lord God! wilt thou make a full end of the remnant of Israel ($\text{לְיִשְׂרָאֵל} \text{ שֶׁנֶּחֱזַקְתָּ } \text{שֶׁנֶּחֱזַקְתָּ} \text{)?}"$ ²

Therefore we see that it was with no cold-hearted academic interest that Ezekiel proclaimed the imminent judgment of God. He contemplated the ultimate destruction of Israel with agonising concern. He was a Jew who loved his nation, his city and his temple. Yet he was called by God to pronounce judgment upon all that he held so dearly.³ He became the mouthpiece of a tragic doom that was about to fall on Jerusalem and Judah.

By the symbolic act of shaving his head, dividing the hair into three parts, burning one third, striking another with the sword in the city and scattering the third section to the wind and the sword, he declared God's intention to destroy the city of Jerusalem.⁴ Like Jeremia he predicted the doom of the House of Israel by sword, famine, and pestilence.⁵ There was to be no pity for Israel. They could not be spared from

¹Ez. 9:8.

²11:13 b

³Chs. 2 and 3

⁴Ez. 5:1-12. Cf. Cooke, ICC, p. 58, who claims that verses 3, 4a modify the concept of wholesale extirmination in verses 1 and 2. "Possibly this modification, together with the idea of a further judgment was an after-thought."

⁵6:11,12; 11:8-10. Cf. also Ch.21 which has as its theme destruction by the sword.

judgment.¹ The last vestiges of the proud People of God - holy place, priest, prophet and king - were all to be destroyed.² The inhabitants of Jerusalem were to be cast into the fire to be consumed like the worthless wood of a vine.³ The whole land would become desolate.⁴ Wild beasts and famine would rob the people of their children.⁵ Those who escaped the destruction about to fall on Jerusalem would be pursued by the sword.⁶ All this is solid doom.

In the midst of this dark picture, however, there is a gleam of light. There would be survivors of a sort. Out of this disaster there would come to Yahweh praise throughout the world.

But I will let a few of them escape (וְנִשְׁאֲרוּ מִן הַכּוֹרֶס וּמִן הַמָּוֶת וּמִן הַדָּבָר) from the sword, from famine and pestilence, that they may confess all their abominations among the nations where they go, and may know that I am the Lord.⁷

This verse has been interpreted by some scholars in an entirely negative way, as depicting no other purpose for this remnant than showing how deserving they were of Yahweh's punishment.⁸ Certainly there is no glowing picture of hope presented here, but the preservation of life itself opens up possibilities for the future. If we remember that the basic concept of the

¹Ez. 7:4.
Tempel, p. 116.

²7:24ff. Cf. Schmidt, Prophet und

³15:1-8. ⁴45:14; 12:20. ⁵55:17. ⁶12:14.

⁷12:16. Cf. also 14:21-23.

⁸Cf. G.A. Cooke, ICC, p. 133. Fohrer in Ezekiel, p. 64, denies the passage to Ezekiel.

Remnant is the survival of those in and through whom the continuance of the purpose of Yahweh may take place, then this group of humbled and shamed folk could be the very sort of stuff out of which God's new work could be fashioned. There was no room for self-righteousness or pride among them. The only asset of this poor remnant besides the preservation of their life was their knowledge that Yahweh is the Lord.

Another passage which speaks more positively about the remnant left after the destruction of Jerusalem is to be found in the midst of a section that is predominantly a proclamation of woe.¹ Because of the contrast in outlook with the preceding verses many scholars would attribute these verses to a redactor,² or to a late period of the prophet's ministry.³

Could it not be, however, that this thought of survival was inextricably linked up with the thought of judgment? As in the previous prophets we see here the juxtaposition of salvation and judgment. Do they not spring from the prophet's own experience of the holiness of God which, while purifying,

¹Ez. 6:8-10.

²So G. Fohrer, Hauptprobleme, p. 72f. Contrasting the thought of this section with that of Ch. 36, Fohrer says, "Diese trostlose Einsicht bleibt ohne die versöhnende Möglichkeit einer Umkehr oder einer Erneuerung des zerbrochenen Herzens durch Jahwe. Beides aber ist bezeichnend für Ezechiels Auffassung der Lage nach dem Untergang Jerusalems (36)."

³So Cooke, ICC, p. 70. There is something inconsistent in Cooke's statement that, "Ez. has no doctrine of a remnant; he is thinking of those who escape from the visitation, and in exile lay to heart the lessons of God's discipline."

leads on to fulfil God's purpose with man.¹ The positive witness of this passage is summed up in one of Ezekiel's typical phrases,

"And they shall know that I am the Lord."²

Beyond the imminent downfall of temple, town and king, there is a new understanding of the ways of God with man. The devastating "no" which the prophet had to pronounce upon the pious and nationalistic hopes that centred in the cult at Jerusalem has its positive sense. Jerusalem had to be destroyed in order to declare what was real.³ This destruction is a sign to the world of Yahweh's glory, and this havoc is no indication of God's distance from man, but rather of his nearness.⁴

¹Cf. Rowley, Ezekiel in Modern Study, p. 177, where he discusses the dual ministry of Ezekiel as a prophet of judgment, and also a minister of consolation and hope. Rowley maintains that one ministry was exercised especially before the fall, and the other especially after the fall of Jerusalem. He discusses Kuhl's claim in Th.Z., VIII (1952) p. 402, that Ezekiel received a special call before taking up the second ministry. He disagrees with Kuhl who asserts that the role of 'watcher' in Ch. 3 is not part of the original call. "The prophet only learns all that is involved in the call as he responds to it and exercises his ministry, when he realizes that it was all really there from the beginning. The work of Moses in the wilderness and at Sinai was totally different from his work in Egypt, but he did not require a second call before he could undertake it."

Rowley pursues the dating of 3:16 b-21 further on page 180 f. He criticizes H.W. Robinson who claims that this passage dates from after the fall of Jerusalem. Its similarity to 33:1-9 may be found in the fact that its message was repeated. "The role of 'watcher' to which he is appointed in this passage is a role of warning, and this is always of the essence of the prophetic function." p. 181.

²Ez. 6:10 a.

³Schmidt, Prophet und Tempel, p. 117.

⁴Ibid., p. 137.

The significance of this basic proclamation of Ezekiel becomes clearer when we see that Ezekiel did not consider the judgment as being directed against only one part of the people of God.¹ The fate of the exiles is closely allied with the fate of Jerusalem. The destruction of Jerusalem is to be the decisive act whereby the whole house of Israel is involved in the purpose of God.² For, as long as Jerusalem and the temple still stood, the exiles were bolstered by false hopes.³ Yahweh had brought the Holy City through many a crisis. Perhaps, after all, it was invulnerable.⁴ This failure to perceive the hand of God in the very history of their own exile earned the Golah the frequent appellation of "rebellious house."⁵

There is evident, however, a pastoral concern for the exiles.⁶ They were, after all, the ones among whom Ezekiel

¹Ibid., p. 111.

²Cf. Schmidt, Prophet und Tempel, pp. 113, 116, 117. Referring to Ez. 12:27-28 and the confusion of the exiles regarding the message of doom on Jerusalem, Schmidt writes "War es bisher die Hoffnung auf Jerusalems Erhaltung, die vielen unter den Exulanten das Exil nicht als 'wirklich', d.h. endgültig erscheinen liess, so wird ihnen im Fall Jerusalems dieser Boden unter den Füßen weggezogen, sehen sie im Ende Jerusalems ihr wirkliches eigenes Ende." (p. 117). Cf. also ibid., p. 148.

³Cf. C.J. Mullo-Weir, "Aspects of the Book of Ezekiel," VT, II(1952), p. 99.

⁴See above, p. 114, regarding the same problem among those who doubted Jeremiah's predictions concerning the fall of Jerusalem.

⁵Ez. 2:4,5,7,8; 3:6,7,9; 12:2,3,9,25; 17:12; 24:3. Cf. Schmidt, Prophet und Tempel, p. 111.

⁶Cf. Schmidt, Prophet und Tempel, p. 122, and also Fohrer, Hauptprobleme, p. 222f. The lack of a close pastoral relationship to those who are left in Jerusalem may be attributed not so much to the prophet's certainty of the judgment that was to befall

worked. They came to the prophet to seek guidance and heard his words, and saw his symbolical actions.¹ He met with the elders and gave them the oracles of Yahweh. In all this there is implied that the future lay with those whose response to Yahweh was true to His character. Not all the Golah could be equated with the Remnant. The exiles themselves were to be purged by the Lord.

"I will purge out the rebels from among you."²

The prophet is therefore pointing the way beyond any nationalistic sentiments concerning the hopes involved in being the Remnant. Here we see more clearly the way toward the new concept of the Church. This is the true Israel, the elect of God, a religious community standing in covenant relationship to Him.

This brings us to a consideration of the passage wherein Ezekiel considers the accusation made by the inhabitants of Jerusalem that those who were carried off into exile in 597 B.C. had gone from the presence of the Lord.³ Through the prophet the word was declared that those who were uprooted and deported were Yahweh's special care. He has been a sanctuary (*שְׁכֵנִי*)

them, as to his actual distance from them. It may be supposed that, if he had laboured among the inhabitants of Jerusalem, the day-to-day dialectic of this contact would have resulted in concrete, historical encounters, such as we have in Jeremiah, wherein the prophet could have presented his message of judgment in the context of ultimate hope for those who put their trust in Yahweh.

¹Ex. 12; 14:1-11; 18; 20.

²20:38. Cf. also 14:6 ff.

³11:15. Cf. Welch, Post-Exilic Judaism, p. 63.

to them. As in Jeremiah 24 and 29, the prophetic word declares God's freedom from the necessity of revealing Himself only at the temple in Jerusalem. The catastrophe of 597 has itself been but a sample of the way God works with His people. In verse 15 we see that God's relationship to the despised exiles of 597 is of significance for the whole House of Israel.¹ God's grace and His judgment have worked together to bring about new life.

The real thrust of Ezekiel's commendation of the Golah is not so much in the transfer of hope from one group to the other, as Müller suggests,² as in the proclamation of the basic witness of the concept of the Remnant - that trust in God alone is man's true sanctuary, and in the enlarging of hope to see that God's people could continue without Jerusalem and without the temple.

It is true that Ezekiel fails to address the Golah as the ^{לְבָנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל} ^{שְׁאֵרֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל}.³ Part of the reason may lie in the fact that Ezekiel doesn't^{not} wish to encourage any false hopes in their minds, such as the concept that, since they have come through disaster, they are thereby immune to any further judgment. But also we may question whether the prophet applied the term Remnant directly to those left in Jerusalem. There is

¹Cf. Schmidt, Prophet und Tempel, p. 147, "doch die gôlā bleibt leben, nicht im Sinne der Weiterexistenz" entronnener "Glieder eines toten Volkes, sondern als bêt-jisrâel (11,15)."

²Müller, Rest, pp. 73 ff.

³As pointed out by Heaton, "The Root" ^{גִּזְרִי} " , JTS III (1952), p. 30 f.

a real hesitation on the part of the prophet to identify the Remnant with any particular group of people.¹ Before the great day of the destruction of Jerusalem none could presume upon God's favour. All Israel was involved.

One further question needs to be pursued. Does Ezekiel, in his stress upon the individual's relationship with God, so fragmentize the concept of the Remnant that it loses its traditional concept of a new communal relationship?² Possibly there was a danger of this happening. But the prophet with the priestly background, conscious of the vital place which sacred rites have in the preservation of true community, turned in his later years after the fall of Jerusalem, to the future plans of Yahweh for a recovery of the community of the land. It could be said that Ezekiel was venturing into the true concept of the Church as a religious community within the nation.³

¹In 9:8; 11:13 the Remnant refers to those left of all Israel after the destruction of God's judgment.

²Cf. Ezekiel 18; 33: 10-20. Cf. Buber, Prophetic Faith, p. 186, where he claims that Ezekiel individualises the idea of the holy Remnant. He also says "The Remnant" no longer appears as a preserved life-community of the faithful who are saved, but as a sum of individuals: pious ones and penitent." But contrast Pohrer, Ezekiel, p. xxx, where he terms the approach of Ezekiel as personalism rather than individualism. Eichrodt claims that Ezekiel was not a rabid individualist, but rather called individuals into a new community based on a law whose sanction is in the hearts of men - Krisis der Gemeinschaft in Israel (Basel, 1953). This book is not available to the writer, who is indebted to the Book List (1954) of the Society for Old Testament Study for a summary of its contents.

³Note the stress in Ez. 14:1-11 upon the people. The punishment which was to be taken against an idolater was to be out off from the midst of the people (Ez. 14:9). For a good discussion of the place of the community in Ezekiel's theology

The seeds of this concept are present. But the concept of a return to the land and of the re-establishment of the centrality of temple worship fascinated him.¹ It was not, however, to be a return to the old ways of the nation. What Ezekiel envisaged was the birth of a new Israel with the Spirit of God in its heart.² We must not think that Ezekiel conceived this in a legalistic sense, and that he therefore became the father of Judaism.³ The new community was to be the result of the grace of God in renewing the sources of Israel's faith. In a passage reminiscent of the New Covenant of Jeremiah,⁴ Ezekiel proclaimed the radical transformation that was to take place within the hearts of the people:

For I will take you from the nations, and gather you from all the countries, and bring you into your own land. I will sprinkle clean water upon you, and you shall be clean from all your uncleannesses, and from all your idols I will cleanse you. A new heart I will give you and a new spirit I will put within you; and I will take out of your flesh the heart of stone and give you a heart of flesh. And I will put my spirit within you, and cause you to walk in my statutes and be careful to observe my ordinances. You shall dwell in the land which I gave to your fathers; and you shall be my people, and I will be your God.⁵

of hope see W. Zimmerli, "Die Eigenart der prophetischen Rede des Ezechiel," ZAW 66 Band (1954), Heft ½, pp. 1-26.

¹Cf. Ez. 40-48.

²Cf. J. Bright, Kingdom of God, p. 134; Schmidt, Prophet und Tempel, pp. 161 ff.

³So Cook, ICC, p. xxxi.

⁴Jer. 31:31.

⁵Ez. 36:24-28. Cf. also Ez. 37, and Harold Riesenfeld, The Resurrection in Ezekiel XXXVII and in the Dura-Europos Paintings (Uppsala, 1948), p. 3 f. Riesenfeld discusses the eschatological aspect of the restoration of Israel in Ch.

This is the renewed community of all the tribes of Israel with a prince at the head,¹ a community purged of all idolatry,² a New Israel wholly dependent upon God and with no existence apart from His love and care.

CONCLUSION - EZEKIEL

As with Jeremiah, so in Ezekiel there is evident a hesitancy to use the term "Remnant" for the Golah or for those who remained in Jerusalem. We may suppose that it was in order that no false hopes should be raised. Ezekiel saw the imminence of judgment so complete that every ordinary basis for the continuance of the people would be swept away. But there is a hope in Ezekiel's prophecies, and in expressing this hope he carried forward the essence of the prophetic hope which centred in the concept of the Remnant. The new community which God would preserve after the disaster would owe its existence entirely

37, and the place which the idea of the revivication of the dead had in Ancient Israel.

¹Ez. 37:15-28. Cf. Fohrer, Ezekiel, p. xxx, "Und die Gemeinde die Ez. auf Grund der Erlösung aller Einzelnen erwartet, ist ja nichts anderes als das zu neuem Leben erweckte Volk (37:1-14), das alle israelitischen Stämme mit einem Fürsten an der Spitze umfasst (37:15-28). Nur soll dieses Volk, das zugleich die Gemeinde der Galubenden in der Welt ist, mehr als früher aus seinem Glauben leben, d.h. aus der Erneuerung des Einzelnen Menschen und der Verwirklichung der Herrschaft Gottes in seinem Leben."

²Ez. 14:11b. Cf. also Ez. 14:5 where Yahweh says that He will lay hold of the hearts of the house of Israel. More than just individuals is in view. Cf. Zimmerli, "Die Eigenart," ZAW (1954), pp. 5, 21.

to the grace of God. Because it would be drawn into this close relationship with God, it would be purged of its rebellions and receive a new heart. Thus, although the terminology of the Remnant is sparse, Ezekiel did make full use of the significance of the idea. In the hour of crisis he gave voice to its notes of judgment and hope.

Chapter VI

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CONCEPT OF THE REMNANT IN EXILIC AND POST-EXILIC JUDAISM

The fruit of the prophetic concept of the Remnant may be seen in the fact that Israel survived the downfall of the nation. She lived through one of the greatest calamities that has ever befallen a people.¹ Although despair gripped the hearts of many,² the period following the destruction of Jerusalem was marked by a revival of religion, and a time of great spiritual vitality.³ Indeed we may judge this period to be one of the most productive in the history of Israel, leading towards the establishment of a holy community.

A. THE REMNANT IN DEUTERO-ISAIAH

The most exalted concept in the Old Testament of Israel as the People of God is to be found in this period. The unknown prophet of the exile, Deutero-Isaiah, portrayed Israel as a people chosen to proclaim God's glory, and to serve Him in all the world. Those left after the catastrophe of the down-

¹For details cf. Bright, Kingdom of God, pp. 127 ff.

²Cf. Psa. 137.

³Cf. Bright, Kingdom of God, p.133.

This does not mean the abandonment of that determinative relationship which the historical people of Israel bore to God's purpose.¹ Rather it means deepening that understanding. The Servant is, then, a personification of the Remnant. The high demands of the holy will of God upon Israel make the selection finer and finer until one is left who embodies the perfect response which the gracious God of Israel is seeking. As Schofield says,

Features taken from the characters of previous religious leaders, from the history of his nation, and from the writer's own experience, have been welded together to make a vivid personification of what Isaiah had called the righteous remnant. Humble and unobtrusive the Servant carries the knowledge of God to the Gentiles and tho' in the end he is killed he will bear the sins of those who slay him, and, like the plants that die every year at summer time, he will rise again in ever greater glory.²

The One represents the many vicariously, taking their sin upon Himself. In the Servant, then, we have pictured the mission and purpose of the Remnant.

¹Cr. N. W. Porteous, who, in SJT 111:3(1950), pp.316-20, reviews C. R. North's "The Suffering Servant in Deutero-Isaiah." Regarding the inadequacy of the People to be the perfect Servant of Yahweh, Porteous comments, "Must we not believe that the lineaments of the Servant were in part at least suggested by things which the Prophet had seen and experienced in the community to which he belonged? He made, indeed, a great leap of faith when he looked forward to the realisation of an ideal in the figure of One who should come, but the Israel to which the Prophet belonged was not just an Israel that had failed. It had produced men like Moses and Jeremiah and the Prophet himself and all the humble folk of whom we seldom hear, but from whose lives were distilled the colours with which the ideal was painted,"(p. 319 f.)

²J. N. Schofield, The Religious Background of the Bible (London, 1944), pp. 159 f. Cf. also Danell, Root of the Vine, p. 33.

Another allied feature of Deutero-Isaiah is his emphasis upon the expectation that God was about to do a new thing.¹ This develops one of the aspects of the prophetic expectations regarding the Remnant. God was about to make a new beginning, a new exodus for His people.² As prophesied by Jeremiah,³ and Ezekiel, Yahweh was about to give His people a new heart and a new spirit. It becomes clear that the continuity envisaged in the very term Remnant is less that of a physical, sociological, national entity than the continuity of the one consistent and long-suffering attitude of Israel's God.

B. THE REMNANT IN POST-EXILIC JUDAISM

The height of spiritual understanding which was reached in Deutero-Isaiah was not maintained in the subsequent development of Judaism. The Return soon produced rivalries and jealousies which overcame the loftier concepts. It is the purpose of the writer to trace next the development of the concept of the Remnant in the Palestinian community after the destruction of Jerusalem in 587 B.C.

¹Isa. 42:9; 43:19; 46:9; 48:3,6-8. Cf. C.R. North, "The 'Former Things' and the 'New Things' in Deutero-Isaiah," SOTP, pp. 111-26.

²Hosea 2:14-20; Isa. 28:16; Jer. 31:2-6, 15-22; Ez. 20:33 ff.

³Jer. 31:31; Ez. 36:26; 37:1-14.

That there was a considerable population left in Palestine after 587 B.C. is becoming increasingly clearer.¹

Although the temple was in ruins, the inhabitants of the land continued to worship at that site.²

The germ of the later bitter conflict between the various segments of Israel and Judah may be seen in the problem which Jeremiah had faced.³ There were those who had been left in Judah, who could offer worship at the site of the temple. To these people it appeared that those who had been taken into exile, and who were far from the means of grace were unclean.⁴

A representative of those who were left in Judah following the destruction of 587 B.C. is the Chronicler.⁵ The expression he uses, הַיְּשֻׁבִּים בְּאֶרֶץ יִשְׂרָאֵל "those who are left" in the land of Israel,⁶ is a characteristic phrase

¹Cf. A.C. Welch, Deuteronomy, The Framework to the Code (London, 1932), p. 206 f.

²Cf. Welch, Ibid., and Post-Exilic Judaism, p. 183 f.

³Jer. 24; 29:15-20.

⁴Cf. A. C. Welch, The Work of the Chronicler (London, 1939), p. 157; Deuteronomy, p. 207; and Post-Exilic Judaism, p. 184.

⁵Cf. Welch, Chronicler, p. 157. For the dating of the work of the Chronicler ca. 520 B.C. cf. Ibid., pp. 156 ff. and, Welch Post-Exilic Judaism, p. 241. Welch claims that there is a later P-recension of this work. He points out that the interests of the Chronicler and of Ezra-Nehemiah require recognition of the fact that there are two different authors. For the more usual dating of the work of the Chronicler in the fourth century B.C. cf. Bentzen Introduction to the Old Testament, II, p. 215; Oesterly, History of Israel, II, pp. 71, 141; K. Gallinger, "Die Bücher der Chronik, Esra, Nehemiah," ATD, 12 (Göttingen, 1954), p. 14.

⁶1 Chr. 13:2.

of the post-exilic literature. Welch has shown that this phrase is employed to describe the men of the Northern Kingdom who survived the divine judgment in the exile under Sargon.¹ Welch asks the question, "Why would the author use such language of David's time?" And he ventures the answer,

C was writing in view of the situation which prevailed in his own time. He chose the language which he did and put it into the mouth of David in order to express his conviction. Israel had an equal right with Judah in the worship at the temple.²

According to the Chronicler, therefore, the resentment felt by the men of the Return in sharing worship with those from Samaria was wrong. So also was their desire to relegate the Levites, the priests from the North, to an inferior status.

If Welch's theory regarding the dating of the Chronicler be true, then the Chronicler's contemporaries are to be seen in the prophets Haggai and Zechariah. Here the term

□ וי □ ס' ג' ח' ψ refers to those Judeans who had not gone into exile.³ There is no antipathy evident in either prophet against those who had not gone into exile. The antipathy which did exist was on the part of the remanent community

¹Welch, Chronicler, pp. 16 ff.; Post-Exilic Judaism, p. 59 ff.

²Ibid., p. 17.

³Hag. 1:12, 14; 2:2. Cf. Welch, Post-Exilic Judaism, p. 73; Oesterly, History of Israel II, p. 87. Oesterly points out that this remnant is not depicted as being opposed to the Return, and is not considered to be impure racially. Oesterly claims that the Chronicler disagrees with Haggai and Zechariah on these points, but is influenced in this claim by his opinion that the Chronicler is the editor of Ezra-Nehemiah.

against those who were returning from Babylon. The vision regarding Joshua the High Priest in Zechariah 3 may indicate that his authority and that of his fellows returning from exile had been questioned. Both Haggai and Zechariah freely ascribe to those who remained in Judah and Samaria the credit for the commencement of the rebuilding of the temple.

In Zechariah 8 we have a passage which could be termed "the future of the Remnant." Yahweh Himself is to return to Zion to dwell in the midst of Jerusalem, and His people will be brought back from the east and the west. This restoration is to be marvelous in the sight of the Remnant.² The vision Zechariah sees of this restored people has nationalistic traits. The Remnant, instead of being helpless and humble as in Zephaniah, is to be the possessor of great things. Nevertheless the wider vision of service is not omitted. Nations will come to Jerusalem and seek out Yahweh. Through the restored Remnant many peoples will be blessed.³

¹Cf. Welch, Post-Exilic Judaism, p. 183. Another view is taken by R. H. Kennett, Old Testament Essays (Cambridge, 1928) p. 83, who interprets the chapter as a plea to the Zadokite priests from the exile to be lenient with Joshua, one of the remaining priests and of the Aaronic order. To do so Kennett has to find 1 Chr. 6:3-15 as incorrect in saying that Joshua left with the captivity. Oesterly, History of Israel II, p. 85 f., claims incorrectly that שְׂרָפָה in Haggai and Zechariah, as well as in Ezra and Nehemiah, refers only to the returned exiles.

²Zech. 8:6.

³Zech. 8:20 ff. Note that the hopes which the Return had placed upon Zerubbabel as the one to restore the Davidic Kingdom plays no part here. Apparently an abortive attempt to restore the Kingdom was made in 520 B.C., when the Persian Kingdom seemed to be weakening. Cf. Hag. 2:20 ff.

We see in this passage a development of the idea of the Remnant. At first Zechariah used the term to apply only to those who had been left in Judah. In this passage, however, the Remnant has become the mixture of the two parts. No great cleavage of animosity has split the survivors of 587 B.C. into two factions.

How the splitting of the Remnant into two parts took place is not clear. Little is known of the events following Zechariah until the time of Nehemiah.¹ No doubt there was a gradual increase in tension between the Restoration community and those who had remained both in Samaria and Judah. If Galling is correct in his deduction, the lists in Ezra 2 and Nehemiah 7 show that the Return sought a reminiscence of the ancient Israelite amphictyony in its organisation.² The contrast with the accounts given in Haggai and Zechariah is evident

¹Accepting the late date for Ezra, i.e. in the seventh year of Artaxerxes II, not Artaxerxes I. Cf. H. H. Rowley, "The Chronological Order of Ezra and Nehemiah," Ignace Goldziher Memorial Volume, Part I (Budapest, 1948), pp. 117-149; Idem, The Servant of the Lord and Other Essays on the Old Testament (London, 1952), pp. 129-159; Bentzen, Introduction II, p. 207; Bright, Kingdom of God, p. 172, n. 21; R. A. Bowman, I B. III pp. 551 ff. Albright places Ezra about 428 B.C., - The Biblical Period (Oxford, 1952), p. 51. The dating of the Prophecy of Malachi is not certain, but it is probably from this period (between 516 B.C. and 445 B.C.). Cf. Bentzen, Introduction II, p. 161. See Mal. 3:16-20 for a development of the concept of an Israel after the spirit.

²Cf. K. Galling, "The Gola List according to Ezra 2 = Nehemiah 7," JBL, LXX(1951), pp. 49-58. He says, "the gōlā considered themselves to be the true Israel." Cf. also Bright, Kingdom of God, p. 165, "But now, here in the little Restoration community, it must have seemed that the conditions of the Remnant had been met."

when we consider the manner in which the rebuilding of the temple is described. As Welch says,

The account in the Book of Ezra is dominated throughout by one motive. Its author was intent to ascribe the restoration of Judaism to the returned exiles, and he regarded any help given by the local community as late in date and merely accessory in character.¹

That this development has been a process from Nehemiah on to Ezra is evident in the fact that Ezra dislikes the expression $\square\gamma\eta\ \sigma\tau\ \gamma\alpha\psi$ which appears in Nehemiah.

Welch has pointed out that one of the differences between the lists in Ezra and Nehemiah is that any reference to contributions made by the $\square\gamma\eta\ \sigma\tau\ \gamma\alpha\psi$ to the rebuilding of the temple has been eliminated in Ezra.³ Speaking of the editor of Ezra, Welch says,

The use of the phrase, 'the rest of the people,'⁴ was peculiarly obnoxious to him, for it implied the claim of the remanent Judaeans to be those who had been spared in the day of the divine visitation, and who therefore could say that they had never been, like the men from Babylonia, driven out into an unclean land.⁴

The editor considered the returned exiles as the true remnant.⁵ The bitter cleavage between the Jews of the Restoration and the remanent group may be seen in Ezra 4:1-5.⁶

The roots of this cleavage lie not so much in the fact

¹Welch, Post-Exilic Judaism, p. 128.

²Neh. 7:71 (EV 72)

³Ezra 2:68 f.

⁴Welch, Ibid., p. 137 f.

⁵Ezra 9:8. Cf. Welch, Ibid., p. 138.

⁶Cf. Oesterly, History of Israel II, p. 88.

that the Palestinians were becoming racially impure, as in the fact that the priestly rites and recognitions were different. The problem of intermarriage in Ezra was mainly among those who were being repatriated. It was the authorities in Jerusalem who approached Ezra on this matter, and not vice versa.¹ It is wrong to suppose that the Gôlâh returned with the true religion to save those in Palestine from becoming pagan. They did come with concepts of superiority regarding orders of priesthood and of rites. But subsequently, in the new life which came from the fusion of the two groups there also came a fusion of their concepts on religious matters.

The Prophecy of Daniel gives us no direct light on the development of the concept of the Remnant. Several scholars have, however, identified the "saints of the Most High"² who came with the Ancient of Days as the Remnant.³ Some see in the Son of Man a personification of the Remnant.⁴ It is beyond the scope of this thesis to enter into detail regarding this relationship; but it is clear that Daniel represents a development of the idea that God's people should be separate, and that those who would have a place in God's future kingdom would be those who aligned themselves with God's righteous

¹Welch, Post-Exilic Judaism, p. 253.

²Dan. 7:22.

³Cf. H. W. Hertzberg, "Werdende Kirche im Alten Testament." Theologische Existenz Heute, N.F. XX (München, 1950), p. 12.

⁴T. W. Manson, "The Son of Man in Daniel, Enoch, and the Gospels," BJRL, XXXII (March, 1949-50), p. 174.

laws.¹

Thus comes to a close the development of the Remnant concept in the Old Testament. The prophetic voice is still, but in law and cult there is constantly formed and reformed a people of God. Out of the cult and the law there was kept alive the promise of the eventual establishment of the Kingdom of God. The nationalistic traits of this kingdom are never fully lost, nor indeed could be lost, but we see in this post-prophetic period a development towards the concept of the "Church," towards the "Israel after the Spirit."²

¹Cf. A. C. Welch, Visions of the End (London, 1922), p. 133.

²Cf. O. Eissfeldt, "Geschichtliches und Uebergeschichtliches im Alten Testament," T.S.K. Beiträge zur Theologie und Religionswissenschaft (Berlin, 1947), pp. 17-19. "Hin und her in der Welt, in Palästina und in der Diaspora, gibt es 'Stille im Lande,' die, in grosser Liebe und zäher Treue an ihrem jüdischen Volkstum hängend und zu grössten Opfern dafür bereit, sich doch zugleich wissen als Glieder einer unsichtbaren Gemeinschaft von Frommen, die gewiss vornehmlich aus Angehörigen des eigenen Volkes besteht, aber sich keineswegs ohne weiteres mit ihm deckt, viel mehr einerseits in ihm Gegner hat, anderseits Angehörige anderer Völker umfasst." (p. 17).

Chapter VII

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE CONCEPT OF THE REMNANT

The significance of the results of a semantic study in the Old Testament field depends upon one's viewpoint of Old Testament theology. If research in this field is designed to deal primarily with the history of the development of religion, then an objective semantic analysis is sufficient. The study is on one level, delineating significant changes through social, cultural, and political factors.

According to the writer this viewpoint is inadequate in dealing with studies in the Old Testament. The subject matter is different from that of a purely secular study. It is not ordinary history, but rather is impregnated with divine action. There is divine challenge and human response. It is not sufficient to examine merely the human response. It is necessary to become a "resident alien" in the faith of Israel, and to share in their realisation of the divine presence in their life and history.¹

From this viewpoint, the concept of the Remnant witnesses to the uniqueness of Israel's faith. In successive crises from

¹Cf. N. W. Porteous, "Semantics and Old Testament Theology," *Oudtestamentische Studien*, VIII (Leiden, 1950), pp. 1-14; and *Idem*, "Old Testament Theology," *The Old Testament and Modern Study*, ed. H. H. Rowley (Oxford, 1951), pp. 311-345.

early times Israel faced the possibility of extinction. The threat to her life came sometimes in political ways through warfare, sometimes by natural means through famine, and at other times by religious means through the corruption of her practices of worship. But in all these crises there was a tenacity of hope which witnessed to the fact that God's purposes for mankind, as represented in His choosing Israel for His People, would not fail. There is evident a religious certainty - the certainty of the reality of God, of His concern with history, and of His lordship over history.¹

Although at times the Remnant concept reflected mere national optimism this was not a feature which made a lasting impact upon the Israelite faith. The evident fallibility of Israel as a human witness to the divine reality led inevitably to the realisation that the continued relationship of Israel and her God would mean judgment. So then the concept of the Remnant witnesses to both the salvation and the judgment which were involved in being Yahweh's people.² As this concept was deepened by the prophets it expressed no facile optimism, but a faith purged in the fire. As the crises faced prophet after prophet they were willing to concede that the external forms of

¹Cf. Th. C. Vriezen, Theologie des Alten Testaments in Grundzeugen (Wageningen, 1957), p. 320; H. W. Robinson, Inspiration and Revelation in the O.T., p. 131; J. C. Campbell, "God's People and the Remnant," SJT, III (March, 1950), p. 79. Campbell says, "The continuity of Israel's history is not expressed in any of the forces or tendencies of secular history. It comes from the redemptive action of God."

²Cf. Vriezen, Theologie des A. T., p. 67.

of the national life could perish. The monarchy, the cult, the temple could disappear from Israel's life. But that would not be the end. God would preserve for Himself a Remnant through whom history would be brought to its fulfilment.

Moreover the Remnant witnesses to the grace of God towards His people in that the Remnant does not owe its existence to its own holiness. This is clear from passages where the sins of the Remnant are mentioned.¹ It is not preserved as a Remnant on the grounds of its holiness, but rather is called holy because God has preserved it.² The prophets make no attempt to identify the Remnant as a particular group. The qualifications of those who make up its membership are faith and humility.³ We see, then, that the claim to be the true Remnant, and to represent the true Israel, is not sustained by any continuity of tradition or historical succession. "Constitutive is the presence of God in His Word mediated through a prophet."⁴

It is significant, however, to note that the main development of the concept remains within the orbit of the historical involvement of the nation Israel. The concept of the Remnant acted as an anchor to prevent a divorce from reality in Israel's religious development. Although it bore within itself the seeds

¹Isa. 4:4; Micah 7:18; Jer. 50:20, 8:3; Ezek. 9:8, 11:13. Cf. also Hertrich, T.W.N.T. IV, p. 213.

²Isa. 4:3.

³Cf. Isaiah and Zephaniah.

⁴J. C. Campbell, "God's People and the Remnant," SJT III (March, 1950), p. 83. Note further what Campbell has to say regarding the significance of this fact for the purity of worship and doctrine and validity of orders in the Church.

of an incipient universalism, it maintained contact with the particularism of Israel's history. It was concerned not merely with a distant ideal, but with the concrete shape of its contemporary history. This is important when we consider the trend towards an unreal apocalyptic approach which was prevalent in post-exilic times. The concept of the Remnant reminded Israel that God had not abandoned history, but was desirous of working in history for the redemption of the world.

Inevitably, then, there is an eschatological tension in the concept of the Remnant.¹ The concept expresses the hope of an expected end. It declares that the purpose of God is to work through history for the establishment of His kingdom. But by its very nature the Remnant exposes itself to the frailties of the nation Israel, and bears within it the evidences of God's judgment upon His chosen people.

This eschatological tension, which is implicit in the Old Testament concept of the Remnant, is never resolved within the limits of the experience of Israel before Jesus Christ. Within these limits the story is incomplete, and the hope embodied in the concept remains unfulfilled. The significance of the Remnant, then, lies in that towards which it points. The response of the People of God in the Old Testament was imperfect, but by that very response the Remnant witnessed to what God was about to do for His People and for the whole world.

¹J. C. Campbell, "The Remnant," SJT III (March, 1950), p. 80.

By this measure the concept of the Remnant is of great importance for our understanding of the nature of the Church.

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